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RECENT WELFARE LEGISLATION[1]

MARIETTA STEVENSON AND ALICE MACDONALD

THERE are two threads in recent welfare legislation, both proposed and enacted, that appear and reappear with a frequency that gives them significance. One, apparent in both federal and state legislation, results from the national defense program. The other—since it arises out of past federal social security action—is apparent only in state legislation.

IMPACT OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

The impact of national defense on welfare was visible in legislation almost as soon as the defense program started in the summer of 1940. Congress authorized the Civilian Conservation Corps to provide "noncombatant" military training for enrollees, and enrolment regulations were broadened so that the corps might become a service organization for defense and industrial rehabilitation instead of a relief agency. W.P.A. projects important to defense were freed from the usual limitations on project-cost as well as from wage rates and hours of labor, and W.P.A. employment of aliens, Communists, and Bund members was prohibited. Other public welfare and quasi-public welfare agencies likewise found themselves drawn into the national effort either through congressional action or through administrative ruling. In the states, new proposals began to appear in

[1] As of July 1, 1941.

the legislative hoppers, which clearly brought home the fact that the results of the defense program were far reaching. Many of the proposals related to problems arising from the national conscription of civilians for military training. Attention was given to the fact that men drawn from private employment would lose the social security benefits they would otherwise earn. The Social Security Board urged legislation "freezing" the rights of conscripts and guardsmen during the period of active military service. Of various measures including provisions designed to preserve the social security status of such persons, the first enactment defined their position under the Railroad Retirement Act and authorized a system of life insurance for them. Legislative committees studied the problems of conscription and mobilization with a view to further definition of the rights of inductees.

FEDERAL LEADERSHIP

Meanwhile, in the states, there began to appear the second legislative thread—the response of states to federal leadership—as the 1940 legislatures took steps to meet the new provisions Congress had inserted in the Social Security Act in 1939.

When the year 1940 closed, there was a general feeling that although defense and aid to Britain would occupy the center of the national stage in the ensuing months, certain welfare developments would at least be in the wings. Action on relief was long due. So, too, was some plan to deal with the plight of migratory workers. It was hoped that the defense crisis would not bring about a loss of ground in the social area.

President Roosevelt's message to Congress on the state of the Union was reassuring. He came out unequivocally for a pressing-forward, as well as a holding, of the social gains of recent years, and declared that the strength of our economic and political system is dependent upon the degree of fulfilment of certain basic expectancies such as equality of opportunity, jobs, and security. Recommending various subjects to the Congress for consideration, he included in his recommendations expansion of the "coverage of old age pensions and unemployment insurance . . . . widening of opportunities for adequate medical care," and planning of an improved system under which persons wanting employment can obtain it.

No less reassuring was the President's budget message. It not only stressed the importance to the "total defense of democracy" of maintaining social security and aid to those suffering through no fault of their own but also urged that we "face the fact that even with what we call 'full employment,' there will remain a large number of persons who cannot be adjusted to our industrial life."

Since that time, although a mass of bills have been introduced into Congress that reflect the impetus-to-liberalization of the presidential lead, very little has been done about them. Congressional time has been almost entirely taken up with defense matters; and action on social concerns, pressing as those concerns are, has had to wait. A number of the bills introduced seek to increase federal financial participation in old age assistance and aid to the blind through one or another of several different methods. One, for instance, provides for federal sharing of three-fourths of allowances up to $12 a month, two-thirds of allowances between $12 and $24 a month, and one-half of allowances that are between $24 and $40 monthly. Another would apply the principle of variable grants to reimbursement for aid extended in amounts under $20 and above $10.

Of the numerous other congressional introductions, a sampling serves to reveal the general tenor. There are a number that would liberalize old age assistance or establish a system of grants to the aged without a means test. Several would extend old age and survivors' insurance benefits to certain groups. Others propose new titles to the Social Security Act relating to such assorted subjects as benefits for the disabled, grants to states for restoration of sight to the needy blind, and grants to states for aid to transients.

None of the proposals so far introduced, however, are of great significance except as they reveal the trend of national thought. Those measures that will receive the real weight of congressional attention are either still in their sponsors' hands, awaiting a propitious time of introduction, or are yet to be completely formulated. These include such measures as Senator Wagner's proposal for expansion of the Social Security Act (first introduced toward the end of the last Congress), the redrafted national health bill, and measures that will strike at the migrant problem and at the unsatisfactory handling of general relief.

STATE LEGISLATURES

Meanwhile, while national welfare legislation has been waiting on defense matters, the forty-three state legislatures that have met in regular and special sessions this year have devoted much of their time to social considerations. By July 1 all but a half-dozen of these legislatures had adjourned, and it was possible to take stock of their action. One thing is clearly apparent—that despite all the problems of national defense there has been an unusual interest in social security. During the first five months of the year, according to the American Association for Social Security, more than three thousand social security measures of one sort or another were introduced and some legislative action taken on at least a third of them.

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

The defense thread was particularly visible in unemployment compensation proposals, many of which sought to remedy the situation created by the fact that benefits in almost all the states are based on earnings during the year just preceding the benefit claim, thus disqualifying selectees who return from camp after a year's military service. In an attempt to cope with this situation, over twenty states have passed measures freezing benefit rights as of the date of entry into service. In addition, Rhode Island and Washington have provided other protection—the former by abolishing her waiting period and establishing a standard weekly benefit rate of $16 for draftees earning at least $100 in the base year before their entry into service; the latter by legislating to credit residents with $300 in quarterly wages for the time spent in service.

Other unemployment compensation legislation has shown a dominant interest in tightening restrictions on the benefit rights of seasonal workers and those who quit voluntarily or are discharged for misconduct. Seasonal workers, for instance, have been limited as to their benefit rights in Delaware, North Carolina, Oregon, and Texas; and severe penalties have been imposed in approximately twenty states for voluntary "quits," misconduct discharges, and fraud. Other legislative interest has centered around reduced waiting periods, as in 1939, and increases in present benefits. At least fifteen states have this year provided for waiting periods of one week;

at least four, for periods of two weeks. As for benefits, Indiana, Ohio, and Oklahoma have raised their maxima to $16 weekly; while Maryland, Georgia, and Utah have increased theirs to $17, $18, and $20 respectively. Other states, such as Florida, Maine, Maryland, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, and West Virginia, have increased their minimum payments.

Changes in coverage, on the other hand, have been neither numerous nor, for the most part, significant. Washington, by bringing in employers of one or more workers, is the exception. Florida and Ohio have also made some extension, however—the former by including some thirty thousand citrus-fruit-packing employees, the latter by bringing in governmental units with proprietary functions.

Groups who had hoped to see some eradication of what they consider fundamental fallacies in the unemployment insurance system are disappointed with the year's changes despite the various liberalizations that have been written into law. They feel, as one state official has put it, that "the unemployment insurance program is today the only long-range program which might serve as a brake upon a national business deflation at the end of the existing wars in Europe and Asia,"[2] and that consequently, if it is to serve as such a brake, it must be expanded and basically revised.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

In the realm of public assistance the second legislative thread is plainly visible, for developments in the states are a clear reflection of federal leadership.

Old age assistance.—In 1939 the Social Security Act was so amended as to raise from $30 to $40 monthly the individual grants for old age assistance and aid to the blind to which the federal government would contribute 50 per cent. As early as 1940, a nonlegislative year, several states took advantage—at least legally—of the federal offer. This year other states have followed suit. Arizona, Florida, Indiana, Michigan, Oregon, and Rhode Island have raised their

[2] Clemens J. France, "Basic Fallacies in Merit Rating," *Social Security, 1941: A Record of the Fourteenth National Conference on Social Security, New York, April 4 and 5, 1941* (New York: American Association for Social Security, Inc., 1941), p. 68.

legal limitations on maximum grants for old age assistance from $30 to $40 monthly, while California, which had a maximum of $35, has also made provision for the forty-dollar limitation. There is some question, however, as to whether California has actually liberalized grants. Previously, net income from several specified sources, up to $15 a month, was not counted. To avoid amending the existent act, the California legislature memorialized Congress to remove the requirement to consider "any other income and resources" in determining the need of applicants. This failing, the California law was altered to conform to the amended federal act.

Several other states have achieved liberalization by other methods than that of raising the maximum. Utah, for instance, has provided that her recipients may receive certain sorts of supplementary aid equivalent to $10 monthly. South Dakota and West Virginia anticipated further increases in federal contributions—South Dakota, by providing that monthly payments may exceed the present maximum if federal contributions are ever made in a proportion greater than now; West Virginia, by removing her upper limitation and merely stipulating that payments never exceed twice the amount received for matching. The South Dakota change relates to aid to the blind as well as to old age assistance; the West Virginia alteration, to all three categories.

It is satisfying to note this year, in connection with old age assistance, that not only were there few proposals that sought to usher in utopia through bigger and better pensions but also that several of the pension panacea groups are finally being subjected to examination of income and expenditures. The state of Washington has aimed a blow at the State Old Age Pension Union—which continues to press for more for the aged despite the extremely liberal pension law enacted last year—by requiring that persons or organizations receiving 25 per cent or more of their income from public assistance recipients must annually report their total income and disbursements as well as the names and addresses of all contributors of over $25. In South Carolina a similar step has been taken through appointment of a committee of the lower house to investigate the State Old Age Pension Association.

Eligibility requirements for old age assistance underwent a num-

ber of liberalizations this year. Illinois, for instance, will now allow insurance up to a maximum valuation of $500; Minnesota no longer considers, as assets, convertible assets not exceeding $300 for single persons and $450 for married couples; Rhode Island now sets no limits on real property holdings; and Arizona has permitted pensions to inmates of private institutions. Colorado, on the other hand, harassed by the high cost of its system, has decided gradually to restrict assistance to those between sixty and sixty-five by requiring such persons to have a continuous state residence of thirty-five years prior to April 25, 1941, instead of prior to application.

Interest in alien eligibility for old age assistance was expressed both in a liberalization and in a blow to liberal hopes when Rhode Island reduced her residence requirement for aliens from twenty to ten years and New York refused to become the twenty-ninth state granting old age assistance to noncitizens through a gubernatorial veto of the Moritt measure after it had been overwhelmingly approved by both houses. Expressed reason for the veto was the lack of provision for additional appropriations for possible additional costs during the first half-year of the law's operation.

Many of the states, as in former years, have had trouble financing their old age assistance programs. The result has been that nearly a dozen have indulged in the doubtful practice of piecemeal taxation. Washington, especially, with her system of forty-dollar pensions, has had difficulty. Governor Langlie suggested fuel-oil, inheritance, gift, pin-ball, and slot-machine taxes; and the senate social security committee considered, among other proposals, a 3 per cent sales and a five-dollar poll tax. Ultimately, a property tax was resorted to. Other states that have set up special forms of taxation include Arkansas, which has not only levied a 2 per cent gross-receipts tax but also allocated moneys from the sale of state-owned lands and from fees derived from disputes over land titles; Florida, which has taxed horse-race betting and permitted counties to levy a 2-mill property tax for welfare purposes; Kansas, which has tried sales taxes and a 3-mill levy on county property; Maine, which has placed a 2-cent tax on gasoline; Nebraska, which has provided that 20 per cent of her receipts from the gasoline levy go to the assistance fund; Oregon, which has put through a 2-cent tax on cigarettes; and Texas, which

has adopted a sales tax for certain commodities and also new or added levies on many natural resources.

Aid to the blind.—In the realm of aid to the blind, upward revision of allowances approximates the trend in old age assistance. Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Indiana, Iowa, and Montana have lifted their legal maxima from $30 to $40 monthly; and Iowa, in addition, has looked toward increased federal financial participation by making it mandatory instead of permissive to increase her maximum if the proportion of federal contributions is increased. Ohio has gone from a yearly maximum of $400 to the forty-dollar monthly limitation. North Dakota, Oregon, and Wyoming have entirely removed their maxima. And Maryland has provided that allowances may exceed the thirty-dollar legal maximum by $10 in cases requiring medical and nursing care.

Aid to dependent children.—In the third category—aid to dependent children—Connecticut and Illinois have joined the states taking advantage of federal funds available for that purpose, thus bringing the number of states that have done so to forty-four. Only Iowa, Mississippi, Nevada, and Texas are lacking such programs now. The fight in Illinois was long and bitter, but the final result is an act, signed by the governor June 30, providing for a state-financed, county-administered program.

The 1939 federal amendment permitting states to use federal funds to aid children up to the time they are eighteen years old so long as they attend school regularly has resulted in considerable state legislation. To take advantage of this offer, at least eight states—Connecticut, Maine, Maryland, North Carolina, Ohio, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming—have added themselves to the growing list that has an age maximum that includes school children who are eighteen years of age and under.

Other states, meanwhile, have gone even farther than the federal amendment. West Virginia, for instance, has moved her maximum age limit to a flat eighteen, without making any requirement of school attendance. Washington, not quite so valiant, has provided that if the federal government matches payments for needy children who are eighteen years old, then her age limit, too, shall be an unqualified eighteen. New Mexico has removed her sixteen-year limit

and substituted no other. And Nevada, interestingly enough—one of the four states left without a program—has also joined in the movement by raising from sixteen to eighteen the age limit for children whose mothers are entited to mothers' pensions.

CONFIDENTIAL RECORDS

In still another way—and even more clearly—does public assistance reflect federal leadership. That way has to do with the 1939 amendment to the Social Security Act that called upon state plans to provide safeguards aimed at preserving the confidential nature of public assistance records.

In response to that amendment, approximately thirty legislatures have taken steps this year to meet its requirement. In some of the states the problem was merely one of setting up safeguards additional to those already in the law; in others it was a problem of getting rid of such old requirements as publication of recipients' names and the amount of their awards. One or two of the states relinquished their old practices with an unwillingness that was reflected in law. Colorado, for instance—while legislating the necessary requirements—at the same time charged her State Department of Public Welfare to work to bring about a change to make possible, without loss of federal funds, the publication of names and awards of all old age pensioners. It is interesting to note, too, that one or two of the states took precautions to see that restriction on the availability of records does not too far remove from the citizen his control over government. Vermont was one of these, specifying that nothing in her law should be so construed "as to preclude the right of a citizen to reasonable inquiry into the administration of any program partly locally financed."

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of these provisions governing records, however, is their great degree of uniformity—a uniformity which in many instances extends to the wording. It is an aspect that stimulates speculation as to what federal leadership might mean to certain areas of public welfare in which there is need of more consistency in state practice.

LIEN REQUIREMENTS

Another fairly evident trend in public assistance—and this time it is not one induced by federal leadership—is the easing of lien requirements. Visible last year, when four states effected such easement, the tendency has continued this year. Kansas has discharged unpaid claims arising as a result of assistance granted and has also repealed legal provisions relating to recovery of assistance through claims. New Mexico and Nebraska have legislated similarly, except that the Nebraska release applies only to old age assistance and aid to the blind. Indiana has dropped her requirement for liens on the real property of old age assistance recipients. Oregon, legislating for the same category, no longer stipulates that assistance granted shall constitute a claim. And Maryland, in her aid to the blind program, has gone a part of the way by no longer constituting claims against estates as preferred claims.

At cross purposes to the dominant lien trend are enactments in Iowa and South Dakota. The Iowa amendment provides that funeral benefits for deceased old age assistance recipients are now to be classed alongside assistance as constituting liens against recipients' real estate; while South Dakota has given her state director of social security and boards of county commissioners authority to enter the appearance of the state and counties in any proceedings affecting property on which they claim liens. South Dakota has also passed a detailed bill providing for the foreclosure of old age assistance liens by advertisement.

STAMP PLAN

Another development pertinent to public assistance that has seen much growth this past year and that is another illustration of the federal-state, follow-the-leader game, is that centering around federal stamp plans. Eighteen months or so ago the Department of Agriculture's food-stamp plan was operating in some of the nation's cities, and the department had declared that in a few of those cities cotton-stamp plans would also be tried. Five months later plans were announced that called for the stamp method of handling surplus food for four million needy persons in close to one hundred and fifty cities. According to the department, about one thousand cities and counties had asked to be included.

This year over twenty states have passed legislation relating to stamp plans. Most of the enactments relate to methods of administration or to establishment of revolving funds, and the great majority have provided for participation not only in food- and cotton-stamp plans but also in other plans of surplus commodity distribution that may be inaugurated. Nebraska, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island have legislated specific authorizations to participate in the school-lunch program.

Administrative provisions for the most part make stamp-purchasing and distribution a charge on state welfare departments—some of which are to issue stamps through their own issuing offices, others to work through the counties. Nevada and California, however, instead of putting their stamp-plan revolving funds in the charge of their welfare departments, have assigned them to their state relief agencies. In some states, legislatures have limited stamp-plan acts to authorizations for participation by governmental subdivisions.

GENERAL RELIEF

In one area of public assistance the feature that is so noticeable in other areas—that is, orderly state development under federal leadership—cries aloud because of its absence. The area in which it so cries is general relief. This year, as in the other years since federal withdrawal from the relief program, relief administration has been characterized more by confusion and inadequacy than by anything else. The defense-born upswing in employment has helped to reduce relief rolls somewhat, of course, but it is the unemployed who are not on relief who are first absorbed. State and local financial resources were again severely strained in the effort to cope with relief needs, and sales taxes and borrowing were generally resorted to for meeting obligations. W.P.A. continued to be seemingly unpredictable and added to the difficulties of state relief administrators—difficulties that will not be alleviated in the future by the decrease in appropriations for W.P.A. during the next fiscal year. For this decrease means that the program will be cut down considerably and that, unless a large proportion of those employed by W.P.A. find work in the expanded defense industries, there will be greater need for general relief than ever.

These troubles, as usual, were reflected in state legislation, though the bulk of relief measures was less this year than in the last legislative year. Whether the diminution is due to state inertia or to the fact that federal grants-in-aid for relief have been "in the wind," is hard to say. Indicative of the present unsatisfactory handling of the problem, however, is the number of state enactments creating investigating committees charged to delve into relief administration and relief troubles generally. California, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Oregon, and Rhode Island all have such committees this year.

Two or three administrative measures in the relief area are of interest in that they seem to show a tendency to integrate relief administration with other state welfare functions. Indiana, for instance, has abolished her eleven-year-old Governor's Commission on Unemployment Relief and transferred its responsibilities to the State Board of Public Welfare, and Rhode Island has charged her investigating committee to consider the advisability of shifting the administration of unemployment relief from the local to the state government.

Illinois has recognized the continuing nature of relief by a change in the name of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, which becomes the Illinois Public Aid Commission. The Commission consists of three ex officio members and seven members appointed by the governor for two-year terms. As before, the actual administration of relief is in the counties, townships, and municipal corporations. Some clarification of the restrictive three-year settlement law has been made.

California's relief problem has been thrown into a state of confusion because of a deadlock between the governor and the legislature. The latter passed a bill providing for the transferal of relief administration functions to the counties, which the governor vetoed. This bill is still before the legislature for reconsideration. The legislature failed to appropriate further funds for the continuation of the State Relief Administration, which has been forced to close down for lack of funds. A special session may be called later to enact a compromise bill.

Another veto of interest in the relief area was that of Governor Lehman to a "work-for-relief" bill. The fact that New York has a

large number of able-bodied aliens, who are barred from work on W.P.A., increased the pressure for this type of legislation. Nevertheless, the governor vetoed the bill, as he had similar ones in 1939 and 1940, because of the unsatisfactory nature of such work-for-relief programs.

PERSONNEL

In the field of personnel there has been much welfare activity this year and perhaps more progress than in any other phase. Much of the progress is due, of course, to the 1939 amendment to the Social Security Act requiring states receiving federal grants-in-aid to make provision for the establishment and maintenance of personnel standards on a merit basis—a provision which over a quarter of the states have this year made by legislative action, while others have done so by administrative ruling. In these states merit system councils have been established which serve employment security agencies and departments of public health as well as welfare departments. These councils will probably serve as the nucleus for the establishment of a state-wide merit system covering other functional areas.

In addition to the establishment of the merit plans themselves, further legislative evidence of federal leadership in personnel may be found in new clauses in Montana and Oregon enactments permitting waiver of residence requirements when qualified applicants are not available. Such waivers the Social Security Board has supported in its communications to the states.

Not all recent personnel progress is due to the national government, however. Both this year and last there have been a number of locally inspired moves toward bettering standards. In 1939 there were seventeen states that had civil service laws in effect. Since then, Indiana, Kansas, and Louisiana have joined the ranks; while only New Mexico, which this year abolished the State Merit System Commission created two years ago, has fallen by the wayside. Other states, in addition, have taken steps in the right direction. Michigan last year provided for an extension in her civil service which included state institutions. North Carolina has requested the governor to appoint a citizens committee to study a state-wide merit system and has combined into a joint civil service commission the three

bodies that formerly operated in the welfare, health, and employment security departments. Vermont, though failing to make the necessary appropriation, has authorized her governor to set up a civil service system and has made it mandatory upon him to establish a state classification and compensation plan. Legislating for the localities, New York has passed an interesting bill, embodying the recommendations of the Fite Commission, which provides for optional forms of administration of the civil service law and rules in the counties and in other civil subdivisions. If one of the optional forms is not chosen by July 1, 1942, administration will be under the jurisdiction of the state commission.

The new Kansas civil service law, it is interesting to note, covers all state departments except the Department of Social Welfare, Board of Health, Unemployment Compensation Division, and Crippled Children's Division. These are already covered by the merit system established in compliance with the Social Security Act.

MEDICAL CARE

In the area of medical care for indigents and low-income groups, enactments—as in personnel—have generally been sound, tending to follow the liberal trends that were evident in the two years preceding. One of these tendencies is toward low-cost hospitalization and medical care as exemplified by non-profit hospital service and medical care plans. Kansas, Minnesota, and Ohio are among the states that have this year authorized such plans; and in each case, as in 1939, corporation supervision has been lodged in the state insurance agency.

Another 1939 trend that is again visible is liberalization of medical care provisions in public assistance laws. Indiana, for example, has permitted the exceeding of maximum public assistance allowances when there is need of medical, surgical, or hospital care that cannot be furnished from the grant. Ohio—legislating for aid to dependent children—has made medical examinations and treatment available to any family receiving that type of assistance, instead of limiting them, as before, to the "child or relative responsible for the care of such child. . . ." North Dakota, while not herself legislating actual liberalization, has asked Congress to amend each public assistance title to permit the states to develop medical care programs for re-

cipients on a matching basis. The preponderance of these developments, however, whether by coincidence or as the result of a growing tendency, is in programs of aid to the blind. Iowa has provided that remedial services to prevent blindness or restore eyesight are no longer limited to applicants for, or recipients of, that type of assistance. Maine has permitted supplementary services for the prevention of blindness for children under sixteen. Ohio has made it mandatory instead of permissive to provide medical or surgical treatment when such treatment would benefit or remove the recipient's disability; furthermore, expenditures for treatment, instead of being limited to an amount equal to one year's allowance, are now to be whatever is determined as necessary, and it is expressly stipulated that they be in excess of the amount needed for maintenance.

Other medical care legislation is of interest not only for its liberal tendencies but for its volume. In the last legislative year—1939, that is—when the Wagner Health Bill was before Congress, there was comparatively little medical legislation, as the states waited to see what Congress would do. This year, realizing that a national health program is still in the future, the states apparently went ahead with their own plans. The majority of the enactments are of a financial nature, either appropriations or authorizations for county levies for the indigent sick, for construction and maintenance of hospitals, or for medical care. In addition, however, there are a number of enactments having to do with institutional management that relate to such matters as eligibility, admissions, expense of treatment, and powers of superintendents. Mental diseases, too, came in for a share of attention when Vermont created an advisory board to investigate mental deficiency and to plan a comprehensive program for defectives and Ohio established a new hospital for the mentally ill and made certain changes relating to her Division of Mental Diseases. In the area of services for crippled children the interest manifested in 1939 has continued. North Dakota has created a three-member Crippled Children's Commission which is to give advisory and consultative help to the State Public Welfare Board in administering the crippled children's program; and several states—among them Montana, Oklahoma, Oregon, and Washington—have legislated revisions or further specifications in their programs. As an apparent organizational trend that may have significance, it is interesting to

note that three states have this year transferred administration of their crippled children's services away from the welfare departments. Two of those states—Montana and Washington—have made the transfer in favor of health agencies. The other, Oregon, has moved her services to the State Board of Higher Education "acting by and through the University of Oregon medical school."

Interest in crippled children has likewise been manifested in another way, as it was in 1939. That is by extension of provision for their education. Such extension Florida, Nebraska, and Oregon have recently made; and all three of the laws, by covering "physically handicapped children," apply as well to children afflicted in other ways than by crippling.

CHILD WELFARE

Unlike the last two or three years 1941 legislation for children as a whole reveals an interest-stress on their welfare. Arizona and Indiana have revamped their juvenile court laws. Utah has abolished her Juvenile Court and Probation Commission and transferred control and supervision of juvenile courts and juvenile court probation officers to the Public Welfare Commission. New York and Maryland have passed measures relating to juvenile courts in certain counties, and the former, in addition, has amended and brought up to date her domestic relations law. Indiana, besides taking thought for her delinquent juveniles, has provided new safeguards for the protection of children placed for adoption and children born out of wedlock. Iowa, Minnesota, Nevada, Wisconsin, and Wyoming have likewise given a share of attention to adoption; and Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin have made certain changes in their illegitimacy laws.

In addition, a large number of miscellaneous child welfare measures were passed this year which, while revealing no particular concentration on any one or two phases, show clearly both the range of state interest and its progressive tenor. A sampling of these laws gives an idea of their content. North Dakota has authorized the establishment of community youth councils which are to devote themselves to making surveys of community youth, co-ordinating the leisure activities provided by various organizations, and furnishing the means for useful activities for those who lack opportunity for proper development. West Virginia has remodeled her child welfare law and included among the changes a two-year extension (from

sixteen to eighteen) in the age limit for neglected boys for whom state welfare agencies are responsible. Arizona has passed a new law specifying the duties of the State Department of Social Security and Welfare in supervising child-caring agencies. Montana has changed the name of her county detention homes to "youth homes." Rhode Island has appropriated $10,000 for the construction of a new home for children who are malnourished or chronic orthopedic or underprivileged cases. North Carolina has authorized appointment of a special commission to study proposals to establish a training school for delinquent Negro girls. And, in two other states, study bodies have been authorized to investigate broader topics—a Maryland commission, to study the entire subject of delinquent and dependent children in the state; and a Vermont commission, to study Vermont laws relating to "children, child welfare services, the family and the home."

INTERSTATE CO-OPERATION

Another encouraging spot in 1941 welfare legislation is the continued growth of interstate co-operation as reflected in interstate agreements concerning indigents and dependents. Pennsylvania has this year passed the Uniform Transfer of Dependents Act. Idaho has authorized her State Department of Public Assistance to enter into reciprocal agreements with other states relative to welfare services and aid to residents and nonresidents. Connecticut has included a similar authorization for her commissioner of welfare in the new aid-to-dependent-children law; while Ohio has made such agreements mandatory upon her state department. Maryland has passed related legislation for both aid to dependent children and aid to the blind—having empowered her state department to make reciprocal agreements with other states to waive residence requirements, case for case, if the waiver does not invalidate federal matching; and having also authorized her state department to enter into contracts with other state departments or responsible parties covering importations of children for placing in the state. In Wyoming the problem in connection with aid to dependent children has been cared for through a move to permit assistance to children awarded aid under reciprocal agreements. Minnesota—legislating for old age assistance—has not only permitted, but charged, her state agency to co-operate with other state agencies in establishing reciprocal

agreements for payment to recipients who have moved to other states.

ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION

Administrative reorganization is quite a different story this year from that of 1939, when new state welfare departments were established in over half a dozen states and substantial changes made in almost as many. This year Idaho alone has put through a thoroughgoing welfare shake-up, while only three other states—Colorado, Indiana, and Utah—have made changes that could be called substantial. Apparently the states have settled down to making the machinery established subsequent to passage of the Social Security Act operate rather than establishing new agencies or making drastic changes in existing ones.

Such a theory is supported by an examination of the year's four major changes; for the fact that each is different from the other, and that two are distinctly novel, seems to indicate that they were dictated by purely local situations and perhaps by political considerations.

The Idaho shake-up splits into three separate departments the integrated department that was formed in 1939 by combining the then-existent departments of public welfare and public assistance. The new agencies are those of public assistance, public health, and charitable institutions, the functions of each being as the nomenclature indicates. Heading the new departments are gubernatorial appointees, subject to gubernatorial direction and control. Oddly enough, the head of the Department of Public Assistance ranks as a commissioner, while the other two heads are directors serving under the governor, who himself holds the two commissionerships ex officio. The salary of the health-department director is set at $4,500 annually, the other two at $1,500 a year lower. All three stipends are subject to downward revision by the governor.

The two administrative changes that are distinctly novel have been legislated by Colorado and Indiana. In the former, which has reorganized the state government generally, the old Department of Public Welfare, which carried the responsibility for social services and public assistance, emerges as a subdivision of the Division of Public Welfare in the Executive Department. Heading the Division of Public Welfare, as well as the Executive Department, is the

governor; while, in the transferred Department of Public Welfare, the director and board continue as before.

In Indiana the changes relate mostly to the state board. The reconstruction provides that this body, formerly composed of five members appointed by the governor, is now to comprise four members, half of whom are appointed by the governor, half by the lieutenant-governor—the latter being an ex officio member but voting only in case of a tie. Another important change deprives the governor of his power of advice and approval in appointment of the welfare administrator.

In Utah, the fourth state to make substantial changes, there has been a reversion from a single-headed administrative agency with a policy-determining board to a commission type of department. The three commissioners are appointed by the governor, with senate consent, for six-year overlapping terms and receive $4,000 annually. No more than two may be of the same political party. Besides the new commission there is a new advisory council—likewise appointed by the governor with senate consent—which is endowed with very limited authority. Powers of the old state board, instead of going to the council, for the most part devolve on the commission. The commission's authority to appoint administrative officers is subject to the governor's approval.

Other changes in Utah relate chiefly to departmental responsibilities which are enlarged by transferal of the functions of the abolished Juvenile Court and Probation Commission and addition of the State Board of Health's supervisory responsibilities in connection with the State Tuberculosis Sanitorium. An interesting fiscal safeguard subjects departmental salary schedules to approval by the Department of Finance.

Other less important administrative changes are, like the more important ones, miscellaneous—revealing no distinct trends. There is, however, a noticeable interest in services for the blind. Colorado has abolished her State Commission for the Blind and transferred most of its functions to a new State Board of Industries for the Blind, which is directed to promote "the economic education, vocational training, and employment of the blind" and to operate industries that are "educational in nature and not reformatory or charitable." The new board consists of five uncompensated members, appointed

by the governor; it employs a director who receives $3,000 annually. In Florida, interest in the welfare of the blind has resulted in creation under the State Welfare Board of a new division of service headed by a five-member council which not only consults with the state board concerning aid to the blind but also has numerous duties relating to the prevention and treatment of blindness, to vocational aid, and to other matters. Maine, too, has provided for a new division to carry on similar services, while Utah has created an advisory council both for her school for the blind and for her school for the deaf.

Among the other administrative measures of the year are two or three relating to public assistance that are interesting for their experimental nature. One of these is a Florida measure which authorizes appointment of county welfare advisory committees to act as consultative agencies between the recipients of old age assistance and the state and district welfare boards. Others are Ohio enactments that provide that when the state department determines that county administrations are not complying with regulations in the administration of aid to dependent children or aid to the blind, it may take over county functions in those respects. Counties dissatisfied with such action or with the state department's withholding of funds for noncompliance may appeal to a newly created Public Assistance Board of Appeals, consisting of the attorney-general, the director of finance, and the auditor of state. This board, after reviewing the action under question, remands the case to the state department for redetermination in accordance with its analysis. It is the state department's subsequent findings that are final, however.

LEGAL REORGANIZATION

In the field of legal, as opposed to administrative, reorganization, there seems to be a trend toward revision and consolidation that gives evidence that states are beginning to look to their statutory house cleaning. On March 1, 1941, for instance, the New York State Social Welfare Law of 1940 became effective, This is not a new law as to content, but a revision, clarification, and consolidation of the State Charities Law, the Public Welfare Law, and others that are pertinent. This law is the result of more than three years' work by the State Board of Social Welfare, working under a legislative mandate. The purpose of the consolidation was to set up, in orderly

form, the provisions of all laws relating to social welfare, to make such amendments as would eliminate repetitions and obsolete matter, and to provide uniform terminology. Other states have done some of this revision and consolidation and will undoubtedly be doing more in the next few years.

CONCLUSIONS

In taking stock of legislative developments as of July 1, 1941, when all but six of the forty-three legislatures holding sessions this year had adjourned, certain trends are clear. On the whole, the laws enacted have tended toward liberality and constructiveness. The effect of the 1939 amendments to the Social Security Act is obvious in upward revision by the states of authorized grants for public assistance and in improvements in their administration. Personnel legislation has also reflected the 1939 amendment to the Social Security Act which requires state plans to make provision for the establishment and maintenance of personnel standards on a merit basis.

As compared with 1940, there has been more legislative activity in the fields of child welfare and medical care. General relief legislation remains confused, as before, and shows clearly the need for federal leadership in that field. Organizational changes have been few, partly because of the numerous administrative reorganizations that have already taken place in recent years.

All in all, in this, a year of international stress and national gearing to present and future contingencies, the attention given by the states to social legislation is encouraging. It offers solid ground for the belief that this country's social gains will not only be held but, as the President indicated, pressed forward. What the federal government will contribute to this pressing-forward is not yet decided. However, action on relief may be taken, and the whole problem of old age security may possibly receive some sort of constructive treatment. Unemployment, too, will continue to be the subject of study, and plans now being made to cope with the anticipated post-defense economic letdown give encouraging indication that legislators are taking thought for the future.

AMERICAN PUBLIC WELFARE ASSOCIATION
CHICAGO

SETTLEMENT AND SOCIAL WELFARE IN NEW YORK STATE: A STUDY

GLENN E. JACKSON

ANY comprehensive study of the workings of our settlement laws in the light of present conditions is important and timely. Such a study, now being made by New York State's Department of Social Welfare, is fortunately timed with the socially significant developments in our national economic and social scene. The study provides important data which may be capitalized nationally as we renew the question: What should be done with these settlement laws of ours?

New York State provides a relatively favorable setting for such a study. Four years ago this state rounded out its welfare program by making full legal provision for all types of needy persons, irrespective of any residence or settlement tests. While the settlement laws were retained and remained operative, provision was made for the needs of the settled and the nonsettled alike. Therefore, no effective restrictive device, either in border police or in law, prevented the normal flow of people across town, county, or state lines. We are able, therefore, to examine the results of four years' experience in granting relatively adequate relief to all needy persons who resided or elected to reside in this state.

The study has centered its investigations around the questions the answers to which were presumed to throw light on decisions in law and welfare administration which should eventually be made. Some of these questions were evident from the start. Others emerged as the study progressed. Besides, many persons were drawn into the study so that, instead of an isolated piece of research which, when completed, would be delivered to those concerned, it has become an enterprise in which various officials, legislators, and citizens have a sense of participation. Already this method is showing its advantage. It assures a degree of support for the findings of the study far greater than would have been the case if the study, all completed, had been delivered to nonparticipating groups for their vote or veto.

Many state legislatures perennially face the question as to what to do with their settlement laws. Even the exigencies of national defense cannot be presumed to lay aside consideration of these laws indefinitely. Now is the time to become prepared with facts and with principles of action for application when opportunity presents an opening. We have already faced one such grand opportunity, for which, however, the social-work field was not well prepared. This was in connection with the hearings of the Congressional Committee To Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens,[1] commonly known as the Tolan Committee. Repeatedly this Committee inquired of administrators and social workers as to the effect of settlement laws on welfare administration and as to what should be done about them. The testimony was neither consistent nor decisive. This had its influence on the Committee's report and recommendations. Again, state legislatures often consider whether to tinker with their settlement laws as, for instance, by boosting of a one-year settlement law to a longer period. Though such proposals are generally opposed, the opposition is based more on social theory than on facts which are conclusive in arriving at sound decisions.

Some of the questions on which light can be thrown by the New York study are here described.

The question of how long a residence test should be to establish settlement is prominent wherever settlement laws are discussed. Shall it be one year, three years, five years, or what? The assumption is, of course, that the difference is important. A further assumption has been that it is important that the residence period be uniform throughout the nation.

The basic theory behind all settlement laws is that the care of the newcomer should not be saddled on to the locality into which the migrant has lately moved. However, this simple theory (whether it be right or wrong is, for the present, beside the point) was not implemented by a simple residence test in most states. The typical law combines two other determinants with this residence test. One is that the residence period must be free of receipt of relief. But these two tests apply, generally, to the head of the family only. The rest of the household derive their settlement from him. Thus it comes

[1] See this *Review*, XV (1941), 121–23, 390–91.

about that the wife and children have, derivatively, the settlement of the man. Therefore, it often happens that the wife and children may have lived "all their lives" in some locality in this state, yet, because the man of the house has gone seeking work in another state and has been absent over a year, the wife and children lose the settlement they once had and become without settlement. Derivative settlement thus nullifies the effect of residence and receipt-of-relief tests as far as the wives and children are concerned.

The workings of such a typical law are revealed in the New York study. A generous sampling of New York City and upstate home relief "state charge"[2] cases, properly weighted, shows that the average length of residence of the case heads was 6.3 years for all the cases, 6.5 years for the New York City cases, and 6.2 years for the upstate cases. The median length of residence was 3.3 years for all the cases, 3.6 years for the New York City cases, and 2.8 years for the upstate cases. The proportion of home relief cases with residence of one year or more on the date they were approved as "state charges" was 72.7 per cent for all cases, 77.5 per cent for New York City cases, and 66.6 per cent for upstate cases.

A study of the approved "state charge" case load with continuous residence of over one year prior to their approval as "state charges," shows that 62.4 per cent of the cases in New York City and 38.1 per cent of the upstate cases, with a state figure of 52.9 per cent, are nonsettled because of the absence from the state of the husband or parent or the fact that the parent or husband had never been domiciled here. This finding confirms similar results shown in the study of *The New York State Program for Non-settled Persons* made by Philip E. Ryan in 1939. "Absence from the state" includes, of course, both those cases where the husband or parent of the family did not accompany the rest of the family when they came to New York State, and those cases where the husband or parent, once here with settlement, had left the state and lost settlement here, resulting in the members of the family losing their derivative settlement here.

Another situation in this state was studied to see if it might throw additional light on the question of the effect of the length-of-resi-

[2] "State charge" cases in New York State are those proved to be without settlement in any city or town of the state.

dence test in our settlement laws. In New York State the general rule is that settlement is acquired by a continuous residence of one year without the receipt of public assistance or care. Ten counties, however, have been granted the special restriction of a five-year residence test with respect to persons afflicted with tuberculosis, or members of their families. In other words, these ten New York State counties, in various parts of the state and deemed locally to be the Mecca of tuberculous persons, have a residence restriction five times as great as in other counties. The purpose of these five-year laws was to be able to continue to charge for longer periods of time the cost of relief of the designated groups of persons residing in these counties back to the town or city in the other counties where these persons had settlement.

It would naturally be assumed then that the proportion of nonsettled cases in these five-year counties would be significantly higher than that of the one-year counties. The fact is that while the percentage of persons nonsettled in their counties of residence to the entire general (home) relief load is, in the one-year counties, 7.4, this percentage is, in the five-year counties, 8.1 or only .7 of 1 per cent higher.

When, therefore, we consider that a one-year settlement law, as operative for most of the state, can result in an average residence of 6.3 years before the person is approved as a "state charge," and learn, further, that increasing the one-year residence test to five for parts of the relief population brings a negligible result, it is fair to question whether the relative length of residence as a test is so important as long as it is qualified by the two other more potent conditions of nonreceipt of relief and derivative settlement.

This does not minimize the nest of problems arising out of varying lengths of residence tests between the several states. Certainly the efforts waged over many years to secure uniform residence tests as between the states had a desirable objective. However, they have been largely unsuccessful. And if the facts revealed by the New York study should be confirmed by other states and we are to continue some kind of restriction, then it would suggest the need to disengage, somehow, the residence test from the other two factors. In other words, when we combine a residence test with a nonreceipt of relief test and a further derivative settlement test, there results a group

labeled nonsettled that is scarcely related to migrancy or "newcomerness."

The next phase of the New York State inquiry was aimed at the common assumption that the settlement laws do serve importantly as a necessary control and protection for certain communities or counties where, otherwise, an undue concentration of indigency would develop. This fear of concentration of indigency is a general one common to almost all units of government. If the communities could be guaranteed a spread of indigency equitably related to all of them, then certainly there would remain little, if any, justification for the costly operations that serve merely to determine responsibility to pay.

The assumption is, however, that they do serve as necessary barriers to protect certain communities that are deemed to be a Mecca for "reliefers." It was common testimony before the Tolan Committee for witnesses from many states to express this belief. Chairman Tolan quite naturally remarked finally that people could hardly migrate only *into* states since every one of them concurrently was moving *out* of some state. It was this assumption of concentration in certain areas which the study next examined.

New York State assumes under its laws that relief will be provided and administered for all, on the basis of need, by the public welfare official of the locality of residence, i.e., where the needy person is found. But, after providing such needed assistance, the local commissioner proceeds to examine "settlement." When that is finally (if ever) determined, there are three financial methods available to him for all who are nonsettled. If the person's settlement is elsewhere in this state, the cost of relief is charged back to the place of settlement. This is called the "charge back" method. If the person has no settlement in the state, the local welfare officer charges it up to the state, which pays 100 per cent of the cost. This is called the "state charge" method.

The third method is that of "removal." If the person or family is a "state charge," various operations are undertaken between the locality and the state in order to arrive at a presumed benevolent judgment that the person should or should not be removed from the state. Very few of these result in forcible removal by court action.

There were less than fifty such cases in the entire state in one year. This is presented here only as a fact, not as a commentary on its justification. If the person is a "charge back," the county of settlement may send for and bring back the family to its place of settlement. The law presumes that factors in the interest of the family will be considered, and decision to return will be made on that basis alone. While the actual number of involuntary intrastate removals has not been determined, the number is small.

It was in this setting of provision for all types of persons and of a generally free determination as to residence that the study examined whether people do migrate to certain places in larger numbers than to others and also as to whether these persons move in order to get better relief.

The system of "charge backs" was examined to find out what resulted from the method of charging back and being charged for the relief of those persons residing outside of their place of settlement. Obviously the net result for all the counties, taken as a whole, would be zero. In other words, for every dollar paid out in one place, a dollar was received somewhere else. However, there might be large distortions in certain counties. Was this so and, if so, what caused them?

All the counties of the state were requested to submit a summary of their financial transactions for a full fiscal year. The results showed that most of the counties neither gained nor lost any important net amounts from their "charge back" operations. Twenty-nine of the fifty-seven upstate counties actually suffered a net loss on their transactions, while twenty-four received some net gain (returns were incomplete from four rural counties). In only nine of the twenty-four counties with net gains was the amount of considerable importance.

From other features of the study as described below, it is possible to compute approximate administrative costs. When these costs were conservatively applied to the net result of the intercounty transactions, it was discovered that most of the counties had deficits. From a financial point of view, therefore, the "charge back" system appears valueless or costly for most counties.

But there were about five counties that netted large favorable

balances which even the application of administrative costs did not liquidate. When, however, an examination of the factor of population trend was made, it was found that these favorable balances were correlated with population growth. The county with the largest net balance in its favor had grown in population 34 per cent in the past decade. And the relationship between "charge back" operations and population trends showed a correlation of more than 70 per cent.[3]

Therefore, with respect to those counties which, through the workings of any "charge back" system, are able to avoid local responsibility for the care of the migrants who have become indigent before acquiring settlement, a fundamental question of equity may properly be raised.

Communities enjoying economic growth through migration from without gain doubly: first, from the self-supporting migrants who add to their economic wealth, and, second, by charging back to their district of settlement the cost of relief of migrants who become public charges before gaining a new settlement. On the other hand, less fortunate communities lose doubly: first, through the migration of self-sustaining persons who no longer contribute to their wealth, and, second, by being charged with the cost of relief of those migrants who become public charges in their new communities while they retain their old settlement.

To state the matter in other words, whereas the community to which people are migrating retains all the new income, either in new wealth or in new community participation in services, from the newcomers who pay their own way, at the same time the new community charges back the cost of relief for newcomers who fail to make a go of it. Therefore, the rejected community loses its paying citizens while continuing to pay for its former nonpaying residents. Would it not be more equitable if the growing communites accepted the little of the bitter along with the better?

The next aspect of New York's experience which was studied was as to whether there were any undue concentration of "state charges" in certain parts of the state. If so, it would presumably be due to

[3] The Pearsonian coefficient of correlation between net "charge back" balances in 53 upstate counties and changes in population for the period 1930–40 was computed at $0.73 \pm .04$.

interstate migration to those places. Although the "state charges" do include, as shown above, those who acquire that status due to loss of derivative settlement, nevertheless any concentration of newcomers moving across the state borders would be reflected in a significantly higher ratio of "state charges" to the relief population.

Therefore, as of January, 1941, the number of home relief "state charges" was related to the total home relief case load in each county. It was found that the proportion of "state charges" for the state as a whole was 3.0 per cent; for New York City, 3.2 per cent; and for the remainder of the state, 2.5 per cent. In the upstate counties the highest ratio found was 5.4 per cent. This was the only county which exceeded 5 per cent. Except for one county with a percentage of 1.9, no largely populated county fell outside the 2–4 per cent range. The median ratio was 2.2 per cent. Three counties ranged between 4 and 5 per cent, 10 counties between 3 and 4 per cent, 19 counties between 2 and 3 per cent, 19 counties between 1 and 2 per cent, and 5 counties had under 1 per cent. These data disclose the absence of any undue concentration of "state charges" in any one county in the state. The nonsettled are but a fairly even and equitable feature in the total relief situation.

One more finding was significant. It has been presumed by many that people move from adjacent states where relief is less adequate than in New York to take up residence in the New York State counties bordering on those states. When examination was made of the proportion of "state charges" in the counties bordering on other states, it was found that the percentage was no higher than for the entire state. Accordingly, there is no concentration of nonsettled in the border counties.

This evidence disproves the charge made so often that people move to New York to obtain more relief. An examination and sampling of case records of persons who have moved to New York from other states confirms this finding.

ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS IN CONNECTION WITH DETERMINATION OF SETTLEMENT

The third major inquiry in our study was aimed at the administrative and social "costs" of settlement in social welfare. Since

settlement determines not only which locality shall be financially responsible for public assistance granted in any given case but, also, which agency shall be administratively responsible for the care of the case, the determination of settlement must be made with respect to *all* cases. This fact has an important bearing on the question of administrative costs.

While New York State has commendably provided for the needs of all types or categories of persons, its laws have grown steadily more complicated to administer. The general pattern of respective administrative and financial responsibilities of the towns, cities, and counties for general (home) relief in the state, excluding New York City, is as follows:

DIVISION OF ADMINISTRATIVE AND FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR HOME RELIEF IN UPSTATE NEW YORK ON BASIS OF SETTLEMENT OF CASES

1. *Local Settled Cases*
   Cases having settlement in town or city of residence: Town or city is responsible for administration, and for 60 per cent of the expenditure. State is responsible for 40 per cent of the expenditure.
2. *Intra-county "Chargebacks"*
   Cases having settlement in some town or city in the county other than the town or city of residence: County department is responsible for administration. However, town or city of residence may assist the county in administration. Town or city of settlement is responsible to the county (in taxes) for 60 per cent of the expenditure. State is responsible for 40 per cent.
3. *Intercounty "Chargebacks"*
   Cases having settlement in town or city of a county other than the county of residence: County of residence responsible for administration. However, town or city of residence may assist the county in administration. County of settlement is responsible for reimbursing 60 per cent of assistance granted by county of residence, and charges the amount (in taxes) to the town or city of settlement. State is responsible for 40 per cent reimbursement to county of residence.
4. *"State Charges"*
   Cases proved to have no settlement in any town or city within the state: County of residence responsible for administration. State is responsible for 100 per cent of cost.
5. *County Charges*
   Cases with undetermined settlement: County of residence responsible for administration. State responsible for 40 per cent of cost.

Obviously, the factor of settlement must play an important role in the administration of a program which by its very nature requires the settlement of every relief recipient to be investigated in addition to his eligibility for relief. However, to isolate this factor as an element of administrative cost is far from easy. Two recent studies in New York State contain significant data.

One of these studies was based on a sample of cases in two New York State cities, which sample included only cases presumed at the outset to be "local settled" without any question of settlement in other places. Thus, all observations related to cases such as are ordinarily supposed to require a minimum amount of investigation to establish settlement. On the basis of the number of times the subject of settlement was considered by the administrative officials who handled these cases, it was estimated that an average of 11.6 per cent of the total time spent on investigations is given to settlement. For new applications the estimate is 16.6 per cent; for reapplications, 9.7 per cent.[4]

Another study considered the administrative procedures involved in the various types of cases—local settled, intra-county "charge back," intercounty "charge back," "state charges" and county charges. The over-all average proportion of the time of investigators, clerks, and local welfare officers devoted to settlement questions was computed at 18 per cent.[5]

These studies confirm the opinion of experienced relief administrators that determination of settlement is, perforce, a costly process. Only simplifying legislation will improve this situation.

Turning to the social "costs," case records were gathered from a variety of sources to determine whether the factor of settlement actually distorts any of the social service processes. It was found that these processes are distorted to a greater or less degree in three ways.

The factor of settlement often distorts intake processes. This happens where lack of local settlement leads to a "you will have to wait until we can determine your settlement." One other method

[4] Unpublished study by W. J. Eckhaus, State Charities Aid Association, New York City.

[5] "Settlement Charge Back Study in an Upstate New York County," by D. Bruce Falkey (Master's thesis submitted to the University of Buffalo School of Social Work; June, 1941).

occasionally used is to close the case at intake when the applicant refuses to sign an agreement that he will willingly return to his place of settlement in another state if it is finally decided he should do so.

A second distortion is that of the occasional and natural disinclination of local welfare officials to give nonsettled persons, the cost of whose care is borne elsewhere, either by the state or by another district, equal opportunity for employment either in industry or public works. Undoubtedly this is an important reason for the fact that the proportion of nonsettled cases in the state is slowly rising although the entire case load is going down.

A third distortion stems from the basic assumption that nonsettled persons are different and are not "our own" and should not be a local burden. Accordingly, relief is made "easier" or "tougher," depending on local policy and motivation.

Admittedly, these distortions are difficult to measure statistically. Likely they are not large in quantity. But the fact is, they exist and are an outgrowth of our settlement laws.

In the face of the mounting indictment of our settlement-law system, we must now face the question as to what should be done. Much has been said and written of the necessity for a federal program of grants-in-aid. Certainly this is long overdue. Probably, too, such a consummation would go far toward liquidating the effect of our settlement laws even if it did not lead to their outright abolition.

But a blind reliance on federal money as the automatic solution is a weak position. For one thing, it still leaves the necessity for a sound formula on which federal aid should be granted. More important, it is doubted that a mere dependence upon federal dollars can of itself change so fundamental a tradition which the settlement laws support—that the locality is not responsible for all of its needy residents.

The facts lead naturally to the conviction that our settlement laws should eventually be abolished. This is not a new point of view. In fact, this belief was proclaimed by Adam Smith, the noted English economist, in 1776 when he wrote in the *Wealth of Nations:*

> To remove a man who has committed no misdemeanour from the parish where he chuses to reside, is an evident violation of natural liberty and justice. The common people of England, however, so jealous of their liberty, but like

the common people of most other countries never rightly understanding wherein it consists, have now for more than a century together suffered themselves to be exposed to this oppression without a remedy. Though men of reflection too have sometimes complained of the law of settlements as a public grievance; yet it has never been the object of any general popular clamour, such as that against general warrants, an abusive practice undoubedly, but such a one as was not likely to occasion any general oppression. There is scarce a poor man in England of forty years of age, I will venture to say, who has not in some part of his life felt himself most cruelly oppressed by this ill-contrived law of settlements.

In a pamphlet entitled *Our Settlement Laws*, by Harry M. Hirsch (1933), we read:

Even at an earlier period, a number of advanced thinkers and writers had urged the abolition of this law. Bishop Burnet, in his *History of Our Own Time*, written at the beginning of the eighteenth century, stated that the Law of Settlement and Removal should be "well reviewed, if not entirely taken away." James Massie in *A Plan for the Establishment of Charity Houses* (1758) said that "giving every poor person a right to relief when and where he or she shall want it would put an end to all law suits about the settlement of the poor." We shall see that proposals of the present day resemble, in many aspects, those of two hundred years ago.

Sound strategy suggests, therefore, that the facts be disseminated as they are discovered and, wherever possible, that we continue to reduce questions to statistical measurements. We shall need, then, to go through an educational period during which, on every possible occasion, the relevant facts should be presented. Perhaps the times are favorable to early action.

BUREAU OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE
NEW YORK STATE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE
ALBANY, NEW YORK

THE NEED FOR LEGAL CONCEPTS IN THE FORMULATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE POLICIES[1]

A. DELAFIELD SMITH

Multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
vi superum saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram.

IN THESE words the poet Virgil explains that his hero was much tossed about by the gods because of the wrath of their queen, the implacable Juno. Aeneas was subject to the capricious rule of one who might today be called unappeasable. With consistent heroism he strove to adjust his life to the whimsical guidance of the goddess.

The story reminds us that men have ever been seeking a greater measure of control over their own destinies. Gaining in intelligence, they have sought to achieve their own predetermined objectives. They have attempted to predict the courses of nature and to remove, as they were able, the postulate of a capricious universe. Their need for adjustment to the forces of nature has been both negative and positive—negative because they had to avoid its destructive attacks upon their enterprises, positive because they have sought to employ natural forces in the achievement of their chosen aims. In this respect their investigations have finally introduced some measure of predictability.

The struggle to achieve objectives through the operation of forceful power and guiding intelligence characterizes life. To this end human beings have had to do more than enlist the co-operation of inanimate nature. They have had as well to avoid the hostile raids of other life upon their undertakings and to establish mutuality of purpose among themselves. To the extent that men have been able to avoid the prejudicial acts of others and, in addition, hold others

[1] A paper read at the National Conference of Social Work, Committee on Law and Social Work, June 4, 1941, at Atlantic City.

to their pledges of co-operation, men have achieved their aims. Essentially this is the relation between physical and human law.

To the extent, then, of our knowledge or understanding of the basic purposes of life, we can trace the development of law. One of life's basic aims is its own continuity or projection into the future. The family is the essential medium for this purpose. The family is the foundation of law as it is of government.

To achieve its purposes nature has provided certain relentless compulsions which actuate the members of a family. These compulsions appear both as inhibitory constraints and as positive drives. By analogy, in the very structure of the atom we find similar forces which both stabilize and energize the physical universe.

As these elemental forces constrain and dictate conduct, they tend to eliminate caprice. The child's development requires this elimination of caprice in the responses and co-operation of its mother. The action of the child, described by psychologists as random activity, gradually becomes ordered, habituated, and rationalized. The child becomes responsive, co-operative, even predictable.

Family functioning thus tends to confirm both of the basic theories as to the origin of law—its development first from habit and custom, second by establishment of positive or authoritarian rules. We find the second of these exemplified in the directive guidance of the head of a family. That guidance to be effective must be rational, not capricious. A child who is the victim of caprice in the exercise of parental controls is delayed and prejudiced in its development. Its basic nature rebels against subservience to a regime to which adjustment is impossible because of the inconsistency and unpredictability of its decrees. Only rational controls furnish the escape to independent achievement. To the extent that reason dictates the guidance of the child, it develops the power to externalize, to adjust its conduct to objective law, and to give and to obtain for itself pledges of active co-operation. The child thus develops faith and confidence.

The lesson for us is obvious. Many persons think of law only in terms of its constraints upon human action. Law has been authoritatively defined as a delimitation of the spheres of human interest.[2]

[2] Cf. Nicholai M. Korkunov, *General Theory of Law* (New York: Macmillan, 1922).

This definition, although sound, does not sufficiently emphasize the positive. Law, as the negation of caprice or of capricious action, is of practical importance as the essential condition to the achievement of co-operative action and the attainment of social objectives. It is the basis upon which the help of others may be enlisted. When people do what they have agreed to do and when they refrain from doing that which is destructive to another's course of action, they satisfy the two great criteria of the civil law—the fulfilment of contracts and the avoidance of tortious conduct. This establishes conditions essential to enterprise.

Treating of law as the essential condition of co-operative action at once introduces us to the subject of human relationships, basic to all social science. As a means of achievement, relationship is important in proportion to its permanence and durability. It thus assumes characteristics of status and of reciprocity. Reciprocity is a basic characteristic of enduring relationships.

Reference again to the family teaches us that all individuals are born into relationships. They acquire status at birth. Other relationships are acquired on a voluntary basis. Thus individuals become partners, or as lawyers say, joint venturers. These partnerships increase in scope and become institutions. Relationships become organized.

In all normal relationships reciprocal rights and obligations are more often implied than expressed. Inherent in relationships are many implied constraints, both negative and positive, which affect behavior. These constraints are attached to—in other words, they are incidental to—relationship. That is what lawyers mean by the incidents of a relationship. For example, when one individual agrees to marry another, each acquires at once a particular status or relationship to the other. This relationship implies mutual promises to refrain from conduct injurious to the relationship and requires conduct in furtherance of its aims.[3] The law seeks to enforce such promises as best it can. It seeks to enforce every incident of relationship significant to the parties, though unexpressed by them and though incapable of exact definition.

[3] Cf. *Frost* v. *Knight*, L.R. 7 Exch. 111 (1872) for a discussion of the legal incidents of the status of betrothal.

As their incidents increase, relationships develop a material and, it may be, a spiritual content by which they are implemented. I must illustrate. Relationships are characterized by the degree of their intimacy. Through our relationships we acquire inward knowledge of one another. This mutual knowledge is a developing content of relationship, sacred to its purpose. Professionally and administratively we are profoundly conscious of our relationships with our clients. These relationships are reciprocal. They involve intimacy and mutual confidence. They are capable of unconscionable use and exploitation.

It is on this basis, for example, that we premise constraint in the use of information obtained in development of a relationship to purposes within the scope of the implications of that confidence. Social agencies are constrained to observe this trust. The agency's duty in this respect is the client's reciprocal right. The law protects confidence at the behest of the client.[4] Law thus furnishes the foundations of security and of faith upon which all action is predicated.

This reference to confidential information is merely illustrative. Co-operative enterprise demands the fulfilment of every undertaking by which men agree that the physical and material implementation of their relationships will be employed for the attainment of its ends. The law may compel the consecration of knowledge, techniques, tools, and wealth to the furtherance of associated enterprise. We call this the "law of trusts" or the "equitable jurisdiction."

The development of legal sanctions for the enforcement of trust obligations is characteristic of highly developed legal systems. Originally sanctions were not available to compensate individuals for loss of rights resulting from the overreaching or fraudulent conduct of others or to compel the recipient of property to fulfil a condition requiring him to use it for the benefit of another. It is important for us to remember that the enforcement of trust obligations was developed early in English law by certain of the king's administrative agencies. These agencies controlled access to the ancient courts. The chancellors, who were the officials of such an agency, were churchmen. As ecclesiastics they were trained in the enforcement of

[4] *McGowan* v. *Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.*, 253 N.Y.S. 551 (appeal dismissed, 259 N.Y. 454, 182 N.E. 81 [1932]).

trust obligations through the imposition of spiritual sanctions. It was natural for them to utilize their temporal powers for a similar purpose and thus to develop what are known as the principles of equity.[5] Contemporaneous society was not unconscious of what was going on. There is an ancient rhyme,

> These three give place in court of conscience,
> Fraud, accident, and breach of confidence.

In these terms I view the significance of recent developments. Briefly, our organizational prowess, our achievements in organizing human relationships resulting from our respect for law and reflected in large-scale social and industrial institutionalization, has either given birth to, or at least given significance to, many new incidents, reflecting the more complex pattern of relationships essential to modern enterprise.

The obligation of workers to maintain their health, their devotion to the common purpose, their individual contribution to its morale, demanded reciprocally that a trust be imposed on the material content of the organization in terms of its wealth and the products of its research and labor to insure the basic security of its membership.

The essential reason is that modern methods required more wholehearted and effective participation of the individual, physically, mentally, and spiritually. Effective organization and efficiency demand precise adjustments, tightly fitting cohesive application of component parts. Put in human terms, this means that much more is demanded of the individual in terms of the greater responsibility that anyone assumes when he works with many others. The effects of individual breakdown anywhere along the assembly line and the significance of institutional loyalty become far more impressive in terms of the greater interdependence of its membership.

As always happens, these new elements came into being unobtrusively. Industrial retirement funds sprang up here and there. Employee health services and compensatory funds for injury were established in progressive institutions. Congressional hearings in 1935 elicited the fact that six hundred corporations with over two million employees had pension plans of various types. Half these plans were implemented by $700,000,000 of reserves charged with an ex-

[5] F. W. Maitland, *Equity* (Brunyate rev.; Cambridge, 1936), p. 7.

press trust for carrying out these plans.[6] A bulletin of the American College of Surgeons well expresses the motivation.[7] It is said:

> There is coming to be a more thorough realization on the part of employers that the attainment and maintenance of the health of their employees is good business, that the employer cannot expect the greatest financial benefits from so-called preventive health measures unless these measures actually first benefit the health of the worker, and finally that the human element is by far the most important factor in the structure, operation, and product of any industrial organization.

So at length there arose the general conviction of a new pattern based on the actual significance of these many new attributes of modern organization.

The demand for social justice can be phrased in terms of a demand for legal recognition, implementation, and public administration of these new incidents of institutional relationships. Many of the laws passed for this purpose establish trust funds and so provide the material content and implementation of the underlying trust obligations of which I have spoken. In workmen's compensation, in unemployment compensation, and in old age insurance the funds involved have been expressly so designated. Also in our supplementary public assistance programs, the funds involved are properly so conceived and administered. The clients are the beneficiaries of these trusts.

In this development the analogy to the ancient liberalization of law through the introduction of equitable principles must be recognized.[8] Just as the chancellors of old utilized their temporal and administrative powers and functions to enforce trust obligations, to require the proper use and disposition of property held for others, and to alleviate the handicap of the inadequacy or accidental loss of rights, so our modern administrative agencies have become the managers of trust funds established to implement and reorient the judi-

[6] Cf. testimony of Mr. H. Walter Forster before Committee on Finance, *Hearings on S. 1130, January 22, February 20, 1935*, pp. 659 ff.

[7] *Bulletin of American College of Surgeons*, XXV, 671–72.

[8] Mr. Justice Stone indicated this when he referred in a recent case to the former mistaken attitude of courts of law toward the struggle of equity for recognition. The mistake, he said, ought not to be repeated today in relation to administrative agencies (*U.S.* v. *Morgan*, U.S. Sup. Ct. [1939], 307 U.S. 183, 191).

cial process and by this means to achieve our modern social objectives.

A trust must be administered according to judicial principles. These administrative agencies have, therefore, become great legal and adjudicatory institutions. They provide sanction and arbitration of the now legally recognized incidents of industrial, social, and economic relationships. A demand that these trusts be administered according to established principles of justice and equity has arisen. The claims of trust beneficiaries are not privileges. Definitely they are rights. Historically such beneficial rights, when they gain social recognition, have been surrounded with every conceivable judicial safeguard.

The field of operation of these respective agencies is highly specialized in contradistinction to the broad jurisdiction of the conventional courts. Such specialized agencies can be trusted to develop flexible methods of securing uniform and co-ordinated treatment among the many beneficiaries of their particular programs and may be able to adjust criteria and policy to the dynamic social and industrial situations in which these rights arose.

However, a grave danger stems from this very specialization of function. The law is naturally fearful of specialization. As Mr. Justice Holmes pointed out, our ability to project ourselves into the future is limited by the capacities of our imagination. The latter capacities are in turn limited by our experience.[9] That is one of the factors lost sight of by those who are critical of the law's insistence upon the right to invoke analogies from external sources. A special program may try to plot its course by dead reckoning. Actually it needs orientation from the farthest reaches of social experience. The pages of any legal case digest lead us from one phase of human experience to another. Is it not possible to extract a principle from its environment and by a process of legal chemistry derive the pure product for more general use? Mathematicians insist that this is so. They have techniques for this very purpose. So, I believe, has the law.

Let it be remembered, moreover, that the basic purpose of this

[9] Oliver Wendell Holmes's speech, "Learning and Science," *Collected Legal Papers* (Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1920).

new legislation was to create adequate sanction for these rights, to secure certainty and regularity in their operation, and to substitute for caprice some predictability of action. A rule of law, uniform and general in its operation, must be substituted for an essentially irregular, sporadic, and capricious development.

The very novelty of the present situation stresses the need for science. The unfamiliarity of the field, the amount of discretion involved, the relativity of the concepts, the lack of fixed and determinate criteria, the very scale upon which the determinations must be made, and the fiduciary character of the rights involved—all demand the aid of those familiar with legal analysis. The business of projecting accepted principles of adjudication into new areas of statutory right evokes the very essence of the legal technique. To provide continuity between the old and the new and a frame of reference for the resolution of such novel situations is the characteristic function of the law.

Much criticism of the law has attacked the very techniques by which it performs this essential function. It is criticized for reinterpreting old concepts and old definitions. It picks out the essence of the original definition and stresses, for example, its functional elements. Thus a hydroplane may under certain circumstances constitute a vessel, and a fifteen-story apartment house may today satisfy the requirements of a private residence in an old covenant. The law thus tempers the shock of social change and upheaval. Much-criticized legal fictions may represent conduits whereby one can trace new incidents of relationship back to their creative environment. This perspective is necessary. You cannot administer law designed to correct ancient abuses without knowledge of their operation.

An epoch-making judicial pronouncement is much like a fundamental theme reproduced on a costly musical instrument. The notes first struck merge into the tonal progression until at the end the whole theme wells up as a unified appeal to your appreciation of its significance. Just so the whole history of some phase of our basic human relationship may be traced in a single decision. The continuity of its historic growth is demonstrated. Bringing together the significant epochs of its development elicits a startling appreciation of its past purposefulness and its present social significance.

Let us note some phases of the law's contribution.

The courts have rather effective methods of lessening the probability of capricious action. They achieve co-ordination through their regard for precedent, their systems of appellate jurisdiction, and their insistence on rationalization. All these methods are available to the agency. But the administrative agency has developed other methods of securing rational and systematic action in view of the greater quantitative scope of its adjudications. In addition to consultative servicing and administrative expertise, it achieves co-ordination through its rule-making function.

Purely for its illustrative value I refer to a clause in welfare statutes which authorizes the assistance process to be used for the purpose of maintaining minimum standards of living. Such is the essential significance of the so-called "suitability of home" provision. The application of this principle was upheld in a recent case in New York,[10] when the agency's determination to withhold assistance on this ground was sustained.

Apart from the major effects of the program itself, the objectives of such a clause cannot be achieved by its casual invocation in particular cases. The individual's own sense of the objectivity of law will create a feeling of discrimination when such a clause is invoked against his claim and prevent the development of a dynamic relationship. Procedure pursuant to a well-conceived rule prepares the mind of the individual, puts needed emphasis on policy, and, above all, furnishes a basis for securing predictability of action.

There is a wealth of precedent here. Recent cases exemplify this principle in the requirements of objective standards in the personnel examination process. The criteria must be properly chosen in terms of their inherent amenability to objective delineation. Courts say:

> A civil service test or examination which conforms to measures or standards which are sufficiently objective to be capable of being challenged and reviewed by other examiners of equal ability and experience is "competitive" within Civil Service Law.[11]

The law demands this objectification of standard. It tends to inhibit the formulation of one-sided concepts. The agency, in formu-

[10] *Wilkie* v. *O'Connor*, 261 App. Div. 373, 25 N.Y.S. (2d) 617 (4th Dept., 1941).

[11] *Fink* v. *Finegan et al.*, 270 N.Y. 356, 1 N.E. (2d) 462 (1936).

lating its policy, seeks the good of society and the good of the individual and conceives its actions accordingly. Law insists that a check upon that conception exists in terms of the fact that the agency is conditioning a right which has an objective existence. The application of policy then becomes subject to all the tests which equality of legal treatment requires. Stable relationships and security exist only under a reign of law. This rule of law the agency may promote. It participates in its formulation. Here, however, you have the individual and here the agency. The relationship between them is expressible in terms of law. I thus point out the external basis for the observance of constraint. Law demands recognition that the interests of others furnish a basic test of policy. Acceptance of the fact that it is operating in a milieu of objective and rational law is essential to the agency's prestige.

It is essential in a democracy. The conception of a social program under government auspices as patriarchal beneficence emphasizes the individual's relations with the state. It overlooks the real purpose—to strengthen the intricate structure of human liaisons and associations, familial, social, and institutional. These give stability to the social order and constitute the processes of its growth and development. The state agency is an instrumentality in the midst of this social structure as a servicing agency. Its policies should be controlled by these external factors of which it is a part. Denial of these principles would require us to rely in administration on divine skills. No one can safely disregard the underlying patterns. No one can be trusted to make his own law.

What the law demands it helps to achieve. The law will not sit on the sidelines during the battle and attend as a nurse upon the victims. The law does not undertake to state initially all the potential factors involved. It undertakes rather to evaluate the sufficiency of given factors. It will conjure up circumstances in which those factors occur but in which other significant facts and circumstances also occur. The law will cause you to question the adequacy of your own criteria. It will compare cases with you and demonstrate discrimination and caprice. For this purpose it draws upon a wealth of experience. The law should play its part in policy formulation, not merely in passing judgment upon it after it has been put into effect.

The law, moreover, is concerned not only with policy but with the methods employed. The legal function comprehends a thoroughgoing analysis of our ruling concepts such as supervision, discretion, delegation, and other functional concepts. The law seeks to adduce the ultimate criteria, or tests of their proper exercise and fulfilment. Have you ever asked yourself what test can be applied to differentiate the real function of supervision from any other function? The word means to "direct" or "superintend." One who exercises authority may act in either of two capacities. He may sit as a judge to hear those who appeal to him to intervene, or, acting on his own initiative, he may intervene to control the decision in the first instance. He does not have to wait until someone appeals to him. This supervisory function is, of course, basic to the administrative process. The law's experience with judicial supervision essential to the effectuation of its decrees furnishes a background for the greatly expanded supervisory process in the administrative agency.

The basic contribution of law is illustrated by the science of rational classification. The basic rule of jurisprudence states that differences in treatment must find their justification in differentiation of circumstances. The popular habit of comparing cases has a scientific basis.

Classification is a characteristic of the process of determining the participatory rights of single individuals. It demands a consistent ruling pattern. The segments of this pattern represent the rationalized criteria of decision. The game has its rules. There is leeway in accepting various shades of individual circumstances within the range of the basic pattern but not to add or to subtract segments of the basic pattern or rearrange them while the game is in progress. For example, a person over sixty-five satisfies the criterion of age in the social security program. Any further conditioning of the right in terms of age is possible only when you are permitted recourse to some other differentiating circumstance, both rational and authorized. The Social Security Act speaks of individuals. Both men and women satisfy that criterion. To differentiate groups of different sex you need some other permissible criterion.

Our organic law proclaims the irrationality of certain bases of classification. It says that substantive rights should not be made to

depend upon religious beliefs or racial characteristics. It invokes the principles of equal protection and due process. It is common practice, for example, to take into account religious preferences in placing children with foster-parents. When, however, such relationships have been established on a relatively permanent basis, a status has been created with incidents significant to the parties. Religious preferences are immunized against pressures to which the individual is always subject when conditions are imposed upon his exercise of rights and responsibilities. Such relationships may not be severed on religious grounds.

Classification of the beneficiaries of trust funds has a long development. The distribution of a limited fund among an entire group of interested persons demands scientific treatment. Courts of equity have developed applicable rules over the course of many years. Factors related to the time of accrual of participatory rights, the relative amounts of legitimate claims, and other factors which determine the equities of one group in relation to another are all potentially significant.

I recognize that our appeal for greater equity among the potential beneficiaries of our extensive social programs is one that must be addressed primarily to the legislature. There are, no doubt, major inequities at present. These are disturbing to many legislators. It is true, however, as a Montana court pointed out recently,[12] that, in order to obtain more equitable distribution, extensive powers of management of our social trust funds have been delegated to administrative discretion. In the execution of these powers administrators need the guidance of those familiar with legal and equitable principles.

The elimination of caprice depends in the last analysis upon accuracy of reasoning tested and checked by every analogous experience in human society. For this purpose, the law demands frames of reference with a perspective as broad as the eye of the mind. In their formulation the law furnishes the most comprehensive digests and critical analyses of specific experience that will anywhere be found.

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

[12] *State* ex rel. *Dean* v. *Brandjord et al.*, 108 Mont. 447, 92 P. (2d) 273 (1939).

UNDERLYING SKILLS OF CASE WORK TODAY[1]

CHARLOTTE TOWLE

THE term "skill" has come to mean the art of dealing properly with specific situations. Because in some technical fields it has been possible for workers to gain facility in performing certain tasks without comprehension of the basic laws and principles of the field as a whole, skills have come to be regarded as techniques and procedures which can be imparted in and of themselves in relation to a particular problem. In social case work we have had phases of trying to formulate skills in this narrow sense of the term. Confronted with the untrained worker, the pressure of time, the complex demands of a profession, and armed with our own not too adequate professional education, we have longed for a magician's bag of tricks or the technician's well-defined techniques to pass on to those entering the field in order that they might become quickly effective. As we consider skill within a professional field, we are drawn back to the early meanings of the word which originally signified understanding, discernment, differentiation, comprehension, and judiciousness. Apparently those who understood, who were discerning, who were able to differentiate, and who were judicious came to think and act with an ease synonymous with our concept of skill. And the very ease implied in skill was deceptive. We came to believe that its simple secret might be lifted out, abstracted from the whole, and attained without experiencing the whole. The error of this assumption, I hope, will emerge in the course of this discussion.

I shall discuss social case-work skills from the standpoint that they cannot be thought of apart from the content of knowledge and a body of principles or general conceptions underlying this branch of learning. They cannot be thought of apart from that particular integration of knowledge, philosophy, and experience which a worker

[1] Paper read at the National Conference of Social Work, Atlantic City, June 2, 1941, in Section I, Social Case Work. Reprints of this paper may be obtained from the University of Chicago Press at the rate of ten for one dollar. See the *Family*, June, 1941, for a paper by Gordon Hamilton given at the same session.

brings to a specific situation. They cannot be divorced from the purpose or function of the particular agency in a given case. And most important of all, they cannot operate without reference to the client's needs and person.

With reference to skill in investigation or social study, the comments of Robert F. Hoxie on social research method seem relevant to this aspect of social case work.[2] In our early gropings with scientific method we became historical, and frequently we were narrative historians of a sterile sort rather than scientific historians. Facts were neither well selected nor always relevant to the specific person or problem. We knew somehow that history was important and that it had within it the power "to evoke and to solve problems still unstated or unrecognized." Because our investigations were undertaken in furtherance of some definite human good, our scientific interest has been practical rather than academic. Our inquiries quickly came into accord with dynamic scientific method in becoming highly selective. Absorption in history as an end in itself readily gave way to a use of history for light on the present problem. As stated by Hoxie, we have gone to the past in our scientific social studies because we have recognized that "living individuals are not altogether what we see them to be in immediate thought and action."[3] In this field we have come to use the process of scientific inquiry also as a therapeutic tool, and this function has modified the process in a way peculiar to the fields of psychiatry and social case work.

The experienced social worker is aware of the skill implied in a differential history which meets the specifications of scientific inquiry and which serves also as a treatment process. He may find it difficult to analyze what went into this skill and may only be able to single out this and that factor which contributed to its development. Among these he may recall that period when he explored a specific social situation in that random, unfocused way which resulted in the indiscriminate historical narrative which Hoxie deplores as a travesty of the scientific historical method. He may remember that in

[2] *Trade Unionism in the United States* (New York: Appleton, 1920), Appen. I, "Notes on Method," pp. 376–79.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 378.

this period gradually he learned to find the relevant in the mass of irrelevancies, that he learned to build up hypotheses and to infer cautiously. He may recall that in his undirected browsings he got a grasp of the complexities of the individual social situation and felt the need not only of knowing what to find but also of testing that knowledge in relation to what he found. Probably every social worker new to the field relives in some measure this developmental phase experienced at one point by the field as a whole. Fortunately we cannot take this experience away from him though we may short-cut it dangerously. Many of us inched along through a long period of inductive thinking in which we participated in formulating many of the hypotheses, theories, and systems which we now hand over to the novice. In contrast, the novice enters the social situation heavily armed in terms of what to find and of what to think, and perhaps it is not to be wondered at if hypotheses prematurely become theories and theory, dogma. How to shorten the time through instruction and supervision without depriving the worker of the opportunity to experience the scientific method in a gradual evolutionary way so that it becomes an integral part of his professional approach is one of today's baffling educational problems.

If the experienced worker can analyze further the gradual emergence of his skill, he may recall that at an early point in the study process he began to diagnose and to use his grasp of basic treatment principles and that his skill as an investigator increased in direct proportion to gains in diagnostic ability and with deepened understanding of treatment principles. He began to secure valid diagnostic material in so far as he was therapeutic in his approach to people. These skills developed hand in hand in an inseparable fashion. Diagnostic and treatment skills imply a capacity for precise analysis of a case situation into its parts, for comparative thinking of the parts in relation to the whole, and for synthesizing the parts into a comprehensive interpretative statement in which the essential elements of the case situation are still discernible and, therefore, may serve as a treatment focus. It implies also some generalization, for each case takes on meaning in the light of other cases and in turn contributes to the gradual formulation of a case-work philosophy to serve the worker in other instances. Professional skills are directly related to,

in fact they emerge from, the development of valid generalizations. The case worker who remains absorbed in each case and regards it as absolutely unique is one who has not grasped its general import and who, therefore, must grope his way through each new fact situation as though it were an initial venture. Generalization with resultant formulation of ways of working lies at the core of skill. Since the purpose of social case work, however, is to help the individual rather than to work in certain ways, diagnostic and treatment skills rest, in the last analysis, upon the worker's ability to see the particular relatedness of the factors within *this* situation which make it *this* situation and not another one. Skill breaks down when formulated methods and philosophies are enthroned and when generalizations are rigidly applied without reference to the person presenting certain needs. The past few years might be characterized as a period of generalization, in contrast to the initial phase in the development of a science of social case work in which we were absorbed in individualization. We have made headway in formulating thinking derived through years of individual-by-individual experience and in applying thinking formulated elsewhere, notably in the field of psychiatry. It has been a productive period in that much theory that is sound has emerged to guide us in our present and future work provided we do not abandon the scientific method through which it was achieved. This implies a continued weighing of evidence, a testing of hypotheses, and a questioning of theory in relation to the individual situation in which it is being utilized. Theories are seductive, however, and unless we consciously guard ourselves against their wiles we may seize on them or be possessed by them so that unwittingly we come to serve them rather than the individuals whom they were designed to serve. A few examples may clarify this point.

The idea has been advanced that it is quite general if not universal for the individual to experience discomfort in asking for help. The assumption is that the activation of basic dependency inherent in this experience engenders anxiety over helplessness and anxiety over loss of one's identity. Another assumption is that in the relationship established between the helping person and the one helped, anxiety is aroused because of the guilt activated, for in so far as this relationship re-creates the parent-child situation, unresolved conflicts some-

times of a psychosexual nature emerge in various forms and in varying combinations of symptoms which express dependency, hostility, anxiety, and the like. In either instance, regardless of differences in the interpretation of the basis of the conflict, there has been agreement on the point that it is essential that the worker deal with this conflict so that that discomfort which is so productive of demoralizing effects be relieved in order that the individual may make constructive use of help. This concept has validity when used with close reference to the individual situation. Skill is obstructed, however, when the worker hangs tenaciously to this assumption as in one case. A woman revealed marked anxiety as she sought help in the form of relief and placement of two children. The worker became absorbed in trying to deal with the discomfort over getting help. The interviews were highly repetitive in worker's overtures to come to grips with these feelings which she thought it essential to clarify before working out the placement plan. Finally the worker gave up; the feelings of discomfort were not forthcoming, and when relief was given and the children placed, the mother moved into the experience with obvious serenity. If the worker had focused on this woman rather than on the theoretical assumption as to how she must be feeling, she would have seen at a much earlier point that in being helped this person found comfort. Help in any form was comforting to her as a sustaining symbol of being loved. The childlike dependence which she brought to the experience had none of the relatively more adult conflict elements in it. If conflict over being helped was present here, it was so deeply repressed, so long latent, that for all practical purposes it was nonexistent in the case-work relationship.

A commonly accepted idea in case-work practice is to the effect that the case-work relationship should offer the individual the opportunity to be self-determining. Dedicated to this idea—an idea which is greatly reinforced by the trends of the times in which we are defensive of this right—many of us lose sight of the responses which clearly indicate that some individuals are unable to use the relationship in this way. We have learned that when this opportunity has been imposed it may constitute an authoritative demand which the individual may be unable to meet; and if so, he may react with resultant hostility, anxiety, and a response that may vary from aggressive de-

mands to a collapse into abject dependency. Thus we may do the individual more damage in the long run than if we had met his dependency at the start. Our own fears may operate here as in many other areas against discriminative help, which is synonymous with skill. Accordingly the skilled worker is endeavoring to meet the individual where he is in terms of capacity to carry responsibility in any area whether it be in responding within the interview, expressing feelings, or initiating and effecting plans.[4] The case worker who staunchly maintains that he can help only the person who can use a certain kind of relationship, frequently is saying that he can relate himself only to that individual who least needs help. At this point, perhaps, we need to remind ourselves of the purpose of our profession; and while this stand may be reconciled with the function of some agencies, it cannot be reconciled with our profession's purpose as a whole.

In recent years we have gained a deepened understanding of the import of hostility both as it affects the personality adjustment of the individual and as it affects the treatment relationship. We have learned that the repression of hostile feelings is not only the core of many an individual's difficulty but also that in helping him it is frequently beneficial from a twofold standpoint for him to give expression to these feelings. (1) He may be relieved of hostile impulses in his life-relationships and thus be freed for more satisfactory relationship to others and for greater assumption of responsibility for himself. With the easing of guilt over hostile feelings he may no longer need to project responsibility or to punish himself through failure and suffering in one form or another. (2) As he brings through the hostile impulses in the case-work relationship directed either toward the worker or toward others, the worker's objective response may not only ease guilt but may also enable him to enter into that positive relationship with the worker, essential for, or at least conducive to, a constructive use of help. As we learned this, our initial assumption was that we had found a simple answer to the woes of mankind and to the establishment of more effective treatment relationships. As

[4] This point has been more fully discussed elsewhere. See "The Social Worker and the Treatment of Marital Discord Problems," by Charlotte Towle, in the *Social Service Review*, XIV (June, 1940), 211–23.

we have worked with this concept, however, we have experienced its complexity. We have become acquainted with the marked anxieties, even the panic responses, that may be engendered as hostilities are released. We have felt the impact of the troubles that ensue in some instances when hostile aggressions find an outlet. We have seen that a more intensely negative case-work relationship may result in so far as the individual blames us for this discomfort or resents our acceptance of his negative self. In short, we frequently unleashed forces with which we were unable to cope. The skilled worker has learned to move slowly in this area and to observe intently the individual's response in relation to all that he has learned about him as a person so that hostility and anxiety may not be released beyond the capacity of the individual to deal with it, or beyond the circumstances of his situation to afford opportunities for the redirection of hostile impulses and the constructive utilization of anxiety. The skilled worker also has learned ways of limiting the person if a precipitous response is generated within the case-work relationship. He may set time limits or help the person handle his guilt through bringing out positive feelings to offset the negative ones; he may interpret, reassure, permit, or even help the person maintain some of his rationalizations and defenses; he may direct the individual to activity in the social setting or to activity comprised in steps in agency procedure through which the hostile impulses may be atoned and the anxiety eased. These "techniques" for dealing with or controlling the individual's response imply great skill in knowing when and how and what to say and do—a skill which emerges from intensive observation, close listening, and the diagnostic ability which stems from knowledge and experience. They are not "techniques" that can be handed over to the novice as a body of well-established procedures or routines to be utilized in general or in this or that situation. When they are so used they inevitably are misused.

In the child-placing field a theory has been advanced that the parent himself must initiate and be responsible for accepting and actually taking the steps in the placement process in order to give the agency a sound basis for placing the child.[5] This is done not only in

[5] Jessie Taft, "Foster Home Care for Children," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCXII (November, 1940), 179–85.

the interests of helping the client to be self-determining but also with the conviction that this process will be therapeutic, that is, help the individual work through his conflicts over placing the child and separating from him. While we see this as a desirable method, perhaps even the most desirable basis on which to effect placement, still we have noted that the individual's capacity to do this has varied widely so that the statement that the parent must initiate and be responsible for actually taking the steps in a placement process raises questions. I refer here to those parents who are not free and cannot become free to do that which they might even like to do. Therefore, the burden of the decision only activates guilt, and anxiety while acting out the steps may so intensify these same feelings as to precipitate a retreat. I recall a case where the placement could be effected only on an authoritative basis, even though the referral of the mother by a clinic to a children's agency came in response to her own voluntarily expressed wish to place the child.[6] In considering the placement she showed a strong impulse toward it, but in acting out the steps in the process, anxiety mounted and retreat ensued. The relatively skilled worker tried to ease the guilt through nonjudgmatic attitudes toward placement, through interpretation of its appropriateness in this instance, and through trying to help her use her guilt in seeing and feeling the placement as something she was doing in the child's behalf. Finally she could only take this action "on the doctor's orders" and with the worker taking the major steps in effecting the placement. Since the mother's condition endangered the child, it would seem that her need made this a sound basis for placement. It would be sound, however, only if the subsequent relationship with this parent were defined on this same basis. Perhaps placements in such instances have proved to be unsound because later the agency has reversed its position and permitted the parent freedom to decide the kind of relationship he will have with the child in the foster-home. We are familiar with the parent who has projected full responsibility onto the agency and who then becomes demanding on both the foster-home and the agency, interfering with the child's adjustment. Skill here would imply a consistent use of authority in

[6] See Charlotte Towle, *Social Case Records from Psychiatric Clinics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), pp. 369–92, "Doris Carey."

response to careful diagnosis and a capacity on the worker's part to deal with his own feelings about playing this role. In the process of careful diagnostic thinking the worker's anxiety about authority may be eased in some measure.

Since the major *modus operandi* of the social case worker is the personal interview, I shall consider briefly how skill in the use of scientific method may be affected by what the worker brings to the interview. We see the world through our own eyes, and what we see is subject to the limitations of our range of vision and to any disfunction in our visual capacity. Likewise, as we relate ourselves to people the reaction we induce is not solely the reaction of the other individual but is the product also of what we inject. An individual's reaction to a given social worker will typify his way of responding to that kind of approach, but it does not give us a conclusive picture of the kind of person he is. Too often we conclude summarily and prematurely, this is a dependent person or this is a deeply anxious person when any one of us could well ask: Is this person being dependent to meet my demands, or is this anxiety a response to my uncertainty or aggression? In diagnosis and treatment, therefore, we are led to consider what the worker brings to the client. What he sees, feels, and thinks as well as the response he begets will be determined by (1) experience (personal and professional), (2) knowledge and skill, (3) personality needs with particular reference to capacity or incapacity to objectify those needs.

Today we are aware of the importance of the emotional needs of the social worker. In fact, it has become such a dominant concern of supervisors, instructors, and case workers themselves that we tend to overlook the other determinants when they may have a direct bearing on this factor.

Consider first the relation of experience to what the social worker observes. A young worker records her visit to the home of a family applying for relief. She gives a vivid description of the bleakness of the home, of its disorder, of its deplorable lacks. She notes that the mother is unfriendly and untidy and records the impression that she seems shiftless and un-co-operative. She expresses the opinion to her supervisor that Mrs. X cannot be a planful person and feels hopeless about working with her. Things looked badly managed, the children

were grimy, and money had been spent for nonessentials. Shortly thereafter the supervisor, a woman of some years' experience, visited this home. The differences in observation may be due in part to chance factors, but one is aware also of a different perspective. She finds a home that is in relatively good condition as compared with the homes of other factory workers in this same district. Fundamentally it is clean, but disorder prevails, though perhaps no more disorder than is inevitable with overcrowding and four active young children. She notes touches here and there that bespeak the mother's effort to make it homelike. The artificial flowers, the children's toys, the varied diet in relation to the income, and the improvised sunbathing contraption in the one south window so that infant Jimmy may get the sunshine recommended by the "Infant Welfare" all bespeak resourcefulness rather than shiftlessness and a normal yearning for something more than bread alone. She sees an intelligent sense of values within the superficial disorder and meagerness of this woman's world. She does not find an unfriendly woman so much as a weary and discouraged one; an untidy woman, so much as a shabby one; an un-co-operative woman so much as a person with ideas of her own. Case developments confirmed the soundness of the experienced worker's observations. One might suppose that the young worker was unsympathetic or that she was a punitive person; that she had some basic need to reject the disadvantaged or that she tended to dramatize and distort in response to her own personal needs. Her response might be symptomatic of any one or all of these difficulties. Further acquaintance with this worker, however, indicated that her previous experience—that is, her social and economic background together with a lack of professional experience—combined to give her no comprehension whatever of such factors as what constitutes a normal way of life among poor people; how much order is possible with overcrowded housing; what constitutes planfulness when one has meager resources with which to be planful; that a weary woman who has always been socially and economically disadvantaged may not relate herself to a stranger with the gracious manner of her more advantaged sister; or that one may feel defensive at having to ask for help. Actually this worker's subsequent development showed a capacity to be understanding, and no marked hostilities or punitive at-

titudes were revealed. One would say that the second worker was more accepting of the limitations of others. We accept what we understand. Probably there is very little acceptance of the unknown or the strange. Therefore, the capacity to accept may grow with widened experience.

Likewise the worker's lack of experience may affect not only what he does or fails to do in a situation but also his response or emotional attitude in the very doing. Recently a psychiatrist expressed concern about a worker in whom he had noted anxiety and tension as he had had several brief contacts with her in a case situation. This worker had not impressed her supervisor as being anxious or tense in general. Inquiry into the case situation revealed that she had been drawn into the assumption of more direct treatment responsibility in the case of a deeply neurotic young woman than she was professionally prepared to carry. A strong relationship had developed between the worker and patient with the latter giving full confidences, then reacting with hostility and becoming inordinately aggressive not only in relation to the worker but in her social situation. In a discussion of the worker's difficulty emphasis was placed on the fact that this case probably was activating the worker's basic conflicts. That may be so; we should not be ready to say it was not so, or that this factor may not have entered into her response. But before deciding that this was the whole difficulty we should want to know how much she knew about handling this kind of response. It was found that she had a vague impression that in some mysterious way it was therapeutic for a client to unburden. She had no comprehension of the possibility of resultant anxieties or of the import of released hostilities. Nor did she know, nor had anyone helped her to learn the ABC's of how to deal with anxiety, how to set limits—in short, how to direct or control the therapeutic relationship. In view of this, I wonder if she may not have been intelligently "anxious and tense."

Knowledge and skill attained through experience and through professional education continually operate to determine the worker's emotional response within the interview. One could cite many examples. I shall mention a few. The overauthoritative tendency of young or inexperienced workers to routine and exhaustive inquiry emerges frequently from their need to know in order to feel adequate

and capable of helping. The overauthoritative tendency to instruct, to guide, to tell, even to dictate may be produced by a need to reassure themselves as well as others that they have something to give and probably will subside when they are more secure in professional knowledge and skill. An eagerness to reassure, to minimize the problem, and to encourage invalidly may arise from a need to be liked personally—a need which will diminish when security in their professional contribution brings them the client's acceptance on a realistic basis. Absorption in and glib use of terminology may characterize the worker who has not yet grasped the full meaning of the terms. When this comprehension comes, language will grow more simple and understandable. The vague uncertainty and lack of direction frequently noted in interviewing lessens when knowledge enlightens and gives meaning to what the client is saying and doing.

As human beings entering this field of service, inevitably we bring personal needs and a wealth of lay attitudes, biases, and prejudices, their content and depth varying with backgrounds and previous relationship experiences. Furthermore, as human beings we continue to live in spite of the fact that we are social workers, so that throughout our training and professional experience we are subject to the full range of frustrations, stresses, and strains to which those whom we serve are heir. We bring from life's gratifications and from the self-realization which has been our lot the strength and capacity to help. Probably also through our frustrations and other negative experience, providing it has not been too great, we are attuned to feel with the disadvantaged, and almost inevitably there will be times or instances when we will feel like them and, therefore, at times more against them than with them. In these instances our effectiveness as helping persons will be undermined. Inevitably the person entering this field will tend to project his own feelings and needs onto those whom he is trying to help, and certainly he will identify with those whom he serves. In case work we all identify in some measure with our clients. In fact, the human tendency to identify may be regarded as the very core of altruism and one of the motive forces in all social work. It occurs, however, sometimes in excessive degree in response to deep personal need, and in such instances it can obstruct the development of a helpful relationship. When we are responding to un-

resolved emotional pressure ourselves, when we are frustrated in our own desires and urges in life, when we are feeling deprived and defeated—in short, when we have deep conflicts and needs to appease or resolve and when we do not understand our needs and urges—then unconsciously we may use the client to meet our need rather than be free to meet the need which he brings to us. I need not elaborate for this group the dilemma produced, that predicament in which the worker is almost inevitably doomed to self-defeat, and in which the client is frustrated or experiences a reinforcement of his original disturbed feelings. I shall touch briefly upon some of the effects of projection and overidentification in the interviewing process.

In those instances wherein this occurs we who ordinarily are able to let the client participate become more demanding than usual. Not only may we take over responsibility for certain services but in the interview process itself we may reveal certain overprotective practices, such as giving undue reassurance, minimizing the problem, anticipating the client's story, or changing the subject when the client's discomfort becomes unbearable, not so much to him as to ourselves. Such overprotection may prevent him from giving full expression to his feelings, thus depriving him of the therapeutic benefit of release; in so far as we minimize his problem he may feel that we just do not understand, but if he needs our service, he may talk to please us rather than for his own benefit. On the other hand, we may oversympathize, get unusually absorbed in the detail and flow of his story, become markedly seductive to him as a sympathetic listener, and be powerless to set limits or to ease the resultant anxiety, because we are caught in that anxiety. Or if we experience negative identification—that is, find in him our unacceptable self—we may be unusually judgmatic, condemning, withholding, and show meager capacity to accept his feelings together with a marked urge to change his response, outreaching the client's readiness in interpretation, giving insight, and directing him.

Other indications of emotional involvement in a given case may be evidenced in a need to stretch the agency function, and we find ourselves making a marked exception of this person, giving him more time, a more personalized relationship, more material help, or waiving certain procedures. For example, we may feel somehow that this

person's confidences should not be recorded; he should not be treated like other clients in this regard. Let us question ourselves in relation to those cases which somehow or other never get dictated. The agency's need for certain information will be avoided, because he is too sensitive or must not be threatened in any way. This case cannot be terminated when indicated but must be clung to for the fulfilment of our additional goals, or if we are leaving the district, an exception must be made and this case must go with us. Or conversely, our own need may lead us to an authoritative use of agency function so that we subordinate the good of the individual to our own will expressed through the functional limits of the agency—a tendency which may well be reinforced by current social trends.

In these cases our wishful thinking will crop out; our need to defend the client, protect, or deny him will make it difficult for us to think logically; we may be less autocritical than usual and in staff conferences we will find ourselves less receptive to the perspective which our colleagues bring to the discussion of the case. And finally, perhaps, defeated and frustrated, we will terminate the case abruptly and sometimes vindictively. The feeling we experience in termination is sometimes very revealing indeed.

In these instances also the client may reveal our involvement. There will be a lack of movement which will be revealed not only in general lack of progress in his social situation but also within the interview. Frustrated in finding help or irritated by the pressure of our emotional need, he may become resistive, hostile, or markedly anxious. He may defend himself against us in various ways through evasive talking, stereotyped production, through resistance or projections, or through taking himself out of the situation. In clinics this frequently happens, for few patients feel sufficient need of psychiatric help to endure an uncomfortable worker for long. In some other settings the client's imperative need for the service does not leave him free to escape, so he makes an adaptation of one sort or another, and one frequently encountered is endless, unproductive talking; or sometimes very ingenious productions to meet the worker's need. He soon knows what provokes our anxiety or interest so he earns his way, and in the long run may feel unobligated and entitled to the service. We have a host of good stories in this connec-

tion—the comments of clients who have been more aware than we have been of the nature of the relationship. Or if our involvement has gratified the client, as when our punitive attitudes meet neurotic need for punishment, or when our protectiveness has fostered his need to be dependent, he may give himself over to enjoyment of the relationship which becomes an end in itself. This will be reflected in his response in the interview, and here again we would expect to see repetitious productions, or endless bringing-in of new problem situations to engage our aggression or protection.

Time prohibits an inclusive discussion of the innumerable ways in which our personality needs may affect the interview or the many ways in which the client may respond to our need. The involvements discussed as well as many others are very usual ones to which any of us may be subject at any moment. When we find them occurring in general so that our interviewing skill is seriously impaired, then we may suspect fundamental difficulties which may not be met in the educational process. It would seem that since we all bring personal need to the case-work situation, our professional effectiveness cannot be based on an absence of such need but instead on our capacity to deal with it, a subject which I have discussed elsewhere.[7]

Finally, it is important to recognize that in attaining a scientific approach we must accept the limitations of science, namely, that there are no short cuts, that there are no substitutes for its slow and painstaking ways, that there are no escapes from its complexities, that its theoretical formulations must ever be tested and, therefore, are ever subject to change, and that its generalizations cannot be abstracted and adapted to unquestioned usage as well-established techniques or arts. This creates a common problem for all of us in passing our present formulations on to the younger generation. It is a problem peculiar to no one school of thought. It appears to be a prevalent one, in keeping with the trends of the times and characteristic of our developmental stage in the use of scientific method. It is one which must be solved in some measure if the case worker of tomorrow is to surpass in skill the case worker of today. Indeed there is danger that the case worker of tomorrow may fall short of his

[7] See "Some Basic Principles of Social Research in Social Case Work," by Charlotte Towle, *Social Service Review*, XV (March, 1941), 66–80.

predecessor if he merely annexes the results of our thinking without the basic thought processes through which our skills have been attained. I have pointed out elsewhere that when the social worker looked at the human individual from a scientific standpoint, man as man became important, for differentiations based on social and economic status, racial, national, or sex factors, conditions of body or mind became incidental to his identity as a person. Science then has served as a humanizing force in giving a deeper understanding of human nature. It is important to remember though that science in any field may reinforce our tendency to generalize, and its adherents must guard against the subjective enthronement of those observations which are personally gratifying or which in some way serve their user's purpose. One has only to look out to the broad social scene today to see the inhumanities that man is committing against man in the name of this or that so-called scientific generalization. May social case work avoid this misuse of scientific method.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

CHOOSING BETWEEN SOCIAL TREATMENT AND LEGAL AUTHORITY IN FAMILY PROBLEMS[1]

JEANETTE HANFORD

A BRIEF statement of the basis on which the professions of law and social work rest is perhaps necessary as a basis for this discussion; because some of these differences may explain some of the problems we have in relationship and use of each other's services and hence the reason for this kind of paper.

If I may beg the privilege of defining another field, I would say that law is a formulation of the established social and ethical practices which control men's relationships to one another in a given society. It is a set of rights and wrongs to which we can cling when our human frailties have set us adrift and which gives us security by virtue of its established place in our society and its relative immutability. Because it is based on established practice, it is not entirely flexible and may contain within itself certain social lags which can appear as irrational controlling factors, or something to be circumvented in our dealing with everyday problems.

Social case work, on the other hand, is born of our more experimental forward-reaching tendencies. It contains within itself elements of social reform and social salvation. It not only reflects the more mobile elements of social structure but its methods are often a step ahead of other social processes and its concern for the individual may often seem to take precedence over the accepted standards of the group.

I make these observations that they may explain, in part, the essential attitudes which the two disciplines bring to bear on an individual problem and the relationships which emerge when lawyer and social worker are concerned with the same client. For purposes of this paper, however, I shall confine any further comments to the social worker's attitude and practice as she comes up against a prob-

[1] Paper given at a meeting on law and social work, National Conference of Social Work, Atlantic City, June, 1941. Reprints of this paper may be obtained from the University of Chicago Press at the rate of ten for one dollar.

lem which may suggest need for legal as well as social services. In general, the social worker individualizes her client and hopes to gain for him any advantage which will make his lot easier in life. She may therefore become impatient at any social rigidities which bar or impede his adjustment. To the extent that the law lags in its social concepts, or sets up dictates to which human frailty cannot conform, the case worker is likely to become critical and possibly to take sides with the client against the rules of society which the law represents.

In addition to this, case work in the last ten years has gone through a period of great change in its ideas of how to help people, and the resulting dislocations of settled practice have perhaps brought some confusion and extremes. The salient feature of this shift has been a change from an active "doing for" the client to a tolerance of human differences and a helping process based on the client's own strength, wishes, and personal solutions to his difficulty. We have therefore sought to control our own authoritative impulses and to encourage in the client the greatest possible degree of self-determinism. Along with this I think there has been some tendency to invest the law with our own negative feelings about force and authority. To the extent that this is true I suspect the case workers have either subtly or openly been less helpful than they might have been in enabling their clients to use legal facilities constructively or to make a wise choice between the adjustment services of social work and the adjustment services of the law.

I make these critical comments within the family group, as it were, realizing that they are tendencies and not total practice and that we have at least the virtue of the young in outgrowing our own bad habits.

Now, hopefully, case work is emerging from its adolescent period with its need to throw over authority and is coming to some realization of the place and value of precept and regulation in the life of society and the individual. We are, I think, more able to accept the boundaries of our efforts and the dictates of society and are learning to use and to work within these controls. Because this is so, it seems a particularly timely venture to examine some of our practice with clients who are faced with the choice of solving their problems in a

highly individualized way of case work help or of resorting to the recourse which every individual has under the law.

In considering the case worker's use of legal services for her client, I have made three quite obvious groupings. There are those cases where long experience and our increased understanding of behavior will lead us to believe that the client will not make use of or cannot be helped by legal action and where case-work effort directed toward a solution of problem attitudes and behavior seems indicated. A second group are those where legal services will be used as one part of the solution of difficulty but will be supplemented by case-work service; and a third group are those cases where case-work service is hopeless or even destructive but where the law may stand as an authoritative bulwark against a weak individual's antisocial impulses. I have assumed, perhaps optimistically, that a case worker will have enough information about the law to know where legal service is a simple, direct solution to a problem not needing case-work service. I would like to assume, but instead will stress, the need for the case worker to know and respect the client's legal rights, so that she will see that he is properly informed and helped to make use of them if he can in any situation.

The largest group of cases coming to a legal aid or family service society are the marital problems where nonsupport, divorce, or separation are in question. Other related groups are those involving the care and custody of children and bastardy actions to secure support of the illegitimate child. Any of these situations involve complex attitudes, feelings and patterns of behavior. The case worker's job is to explore, evaluate, and use these toward the best possible solution of the problem for all the individuals involved. If there is a possible legal solution, it is her responsibility to see that the client knows of this and to help him evaluate whether this is the best way to meet his problem.

Now this seems like a logical and easily achieved goal. Actually, however, few clients who come to social agencies for help with this kind of problem are free to take the logical and reasonable ways out. Their confusion and conflict may be the essence of the problem itself and are at least a factor in their having to seek help. The person who comes to a social agency with a marital difficulty, for instance, comes

almost inevitably with built-up hostilities toward the other person, possibly with a long preceding series of quarrels and reconciliations, and perhaps with deep need to keep the husband or wife even though their relationship and behavior toward each other constitute a source of conflict and unhappiness. It is our experience that in a large number of cases the applicant wants to "do something" about the other person—take him to court, force him to give money, put him in jail so that he will learn his lesson, or, with the complaining husband, take the children away from the neglectful and nagging wife. We recognize in this wish for immediate action a strong need to punish the other person, but by the time the client gets to court, or perhaps even as we are caught up in sympathy for him, the picture changes and we see the wife deciding to "give him another chance," or the husband saying that he "guessed she has learned her lesson," or that "the children need her." We have seen enough of this inconsistent behavior to know that these hostile, punitive feelings are only part of the usual picture of marital difficulty and that when they are actually lived out, or have run their course, the opposing emotions of guilt, affection, or dependence come into play to defeat the original intention.

This wish to use the law as punishment is quite familiar to case workers, and I presume to lawyers, and I think we have pretty well reached the conclusion that it is more socially effectual to help the client gain some perspective in his feelings before going too far in a legal action. In this process the case worker may do one or more of several things: she may encourage a release of emotion by just letting the client talk it out; she may help him bring out and point up the ambivalent aspects of his feelings in an attempt to give some immediate insight; or she can allow the client to carry out his plan of punishment by court action and be ready to deal with the reaction when it sets in. A knowledge of legal resources, however, should be part of every worker's equipment for dealing with these situations, and in any of these case-work efforts a discussion of legal possibilities may be used as a kind of reality-testing process.

To illustrate a case—Mrs. G. came to the Family Service Bureau, much disturbed because her husband had deserted her three days previously, leaving her without support. Desertion had occurred

after a quarrel about finances, but, aside from occasional recurring tension on this point, family life had been fairly harmonious. On this day, however, Mrs. G. was angry and upset, declared that she would not take her husband back, and would force him to support her and the children, regardless of whether or not he would have enough left to live separately.

I quote from the record:

Having delivered herself of a tirade about her husband's irresponsibility and neglect, Mrs. G. again remarked that she would never take him back and she didn't care how he had to live. She was going to get enough money from him to support herself and the children. The worker asked if she had planned to go to the Court of Domestic Relations about support. She said she had but didn't know where to go, or what it was like. Worker gave her the address, said it was a busy place, but that a social worker would talk with her, and if her complaint was justified under the law, would help her get out a warrant. Mrs. G. looked a little startled at the word "warrant" and asked if that would mean her husband would be arrested. Worker said "yes" unless he was willing to come to court to confer and make some voluntary support arrangement. Mrs. G. doubted that he would come willingly. She went over to his mother's home where he is staying this morning, but he refused to come out or talk to her. She then remarked that he is very stubborn. Even as a child, he would take any amount of punishment rather than give in to his father's command. If brought to court, he would be just mean enough to refuse to give her anything. She is the only one who has ever been able to manage him. Worker remarked that this is a criminal action Mrs. G. is taking, and if Mr. G. refuses to support, he can be imprisoned for six months. Mrs. G. looked uncomfortable. Tears came to her eyes and she said, "I wouldn't want that, it wouldn't do anybody any good." Worker agreed. Mrs. G. said perhaps she should wait. Mr. G. might come back in a few days as he did the other time he left. She didn't know whether she could take him back, but she didn't want to spoil things by being too hasty. Worker said perhaps they were both pretty angry now and it might help to talk over what had precipitated the quarrel and think whether things were really so wrong that they wanted a separation. Perhaps she would decide that things might be eased in some other way.

Here is a substitute for action, a substitute provided by the worker's understanding of court procedures and ability to let the client feel out what that course of action might mean. We recognize that this is not an entire solution to the problem, but it is perhaps more economical and constructive than letting the client embroil herself in something which she is not prepared to follow through.

Here the worker, by the information and tone of her comments, helps the woman to see that she could not face the nonsupport charge and that it might not accomplish her end and that she perhaps needs to examine her own feelings with the case worker before making a decision about taking her husband into court. In this the worker has directed the situation along case-work rather than legal lines, and I think our experience will bear me out in saying until these vacillating clients are helped to some resolution of their conflicts over the marriage that legal action contributes little to the solution of the problem.

In somewhat the same group are the complainants whose sense of values seems to center largely around money. Some of these wives estimate a husband's love in terms of the money he gives them and center their satisfaction in marriage on the fact of getting the entire pay check to manage and to spend. These probably represent deep-seated neurotic attitudes which will not be satisfied in the law, even when it provides a recourse for their needs. Here, even when the client presses for action, there seems little to be gained in going forward, and if we can be of any help at all it may be in helping the client to see that the money he is seeking in a support action really symbolizes to him some insatiable need for love or power.

Such a case is Mrs. B. who brings to the case worker continual complaints about her husband's unwillingness to give her money. He earns a fairly good salary, prefers to pay some of the bills himself, and usually gives his wife a not too large allowance for food and incidentals. Under her continual complaints he has occasionally resorted to drinking and failed to pay bills or give her what she needs.

Before coming to the family agency, Mrs. B. had already gotten one case worker to try to make an arrangement for her to get Mr. B.'s pay check from the employer and to manage their expenditures according to her plan.

In the interview Mrs. B. seemed at a high pitch of excitement and kept reiterating that Mr. B. would have to give her his entire pay check or she would certainly take him to court. Worker said that the court actually could act only where there was real failure to support. Mr. B. had usually provided at least enough for the family's minimum need. Mrs. B. said that somebody would have to make him give her the money. She couldn't go on this way. Worker commented that having the whole pay check seemed to mean a great deal to Mrs. B.

and asked if this was the only way she thought family finances could be managed. Mrs. B. agreed vehemently. If Mr. B. has money in his pocket there is no telling where he will go or what he will do. If she keeps the money and gives him just enough for carfare, then she knows where he is. After all, she is the one who has borne the children and has to look after them. Why should he have money in his pockets and be free to go wherever he chooses.

Here we see emerging complex attitudes which involve this woman's feeling about money, her relationship to her husband and children, and her resentment over the role played by the weaker sex. Even if court action becomes a possibility through this husband's reaction to his wife's attitude, we would doubt that it would solve any problems in the family relationship. Sometimes we see these cases after separation and support action have been taken, and we and the courts are often discouraged by the fact that the woman's demands on her husband still are not satisfied. The feelings which had brought about the original complaint are often projected into the other family relationships, the children are affected, and the support question itself becomes another source of friction.

These are some of the situations where the case worker's understanding of basic emotional problems was directed toward case-work service rather than legal action. These are also the cases where we may be easily "taken in" by the persuasiveness of the client's complaint and use our own and the court's efforts in unproductive or perhaps destructive action. Here we need sharpening of both our diagnostic and our treatment processes to meet what is essentially an individual emotional problem rather than one that legal service can help.

Perhaps the word "choice" which we have used in the title of this paper is not necessarily the way we wish to approach the question, however. The case worker must see the individual and help him in any way she can to a solution of his problem. Legal recourse is only one of these ways. Perhaps oftener than we have thought necessary, it should be carried out concurrently with case-work help. Case work and legal service are then not an "either-or" matter but complementary efforts directed toward the best possible adjustment of the problem. A large number of family situations involving legal problems fall in this group. In many divorce cases the divorce itself

may constitute the climax of a severe emotional struggle bringing many readjustments in its wake. Certainly in bastardy action the unmarried mother's relationship to the father and to society may call for skilful individualized help. In many nonsupport and desertion cases legal action is much more effective when it is planned for and carried out as a part of a well-considered case-work plan than when used as a last resort at a point where it may be just as futile as our case-work effort.

Our use of legal action will depend on two things—the actual direction of the client's needs and capacities, and our skill in diagnosing and helping to clarify these to some constructive end.

In problems of marital difficulty, for instance, there may well come a time when some action is called for. Whether this is the right time or not will depend on whether the client is ready to carry through the action, whether it will ease the tension in the family, and whether it will achieve the end of support, protection, or whatever else is envisaged in the action. The decision to take action is the client's to make, but the case worker will have her part in helping the client come to the decision to act, in evaluating its meaning in the total situation, and in steadying and supporting him through the stresses and readjustments that may follow. Here again the case worker's attitudes about the law will be important as she works with the client. Also our tendency to emphasize the individual over and against the mores of society may create a source of conflict which will transmit itself to the case-work situation. For instance, here is a situation in which a father has never grown up to assume adult responsibilities, is in conflict about his marriage, and has chosen a wife who aggravates rather than assuages his difficulties. Our understanding of the complex emotional implications of this situation and the essential inadequacies of the man tends to make us forget that society demands that a man assume financial responsibility for his wife and children. With all our understanding we are still a part of an agency and a society which in general will not take ultimate responsibility for support unless there is no other way out. Certainly the case worker must come to terms with this question herself before she can be helpful to the client. Similarly, she will have to be free from that irrational fear which most lay people have of the authority

of the law and from needs to punish by using it. Most of all she will need to have psychological insight into the values which this use of authority will have for the complainant, for the spouse, and for the children involved.

It is this use of authority which we are slowly learning to handle as part of case-work treatment, devoid of our own need to be important or to control other people's lives. We know that even the normal personality gains certain of its strengths from regulation and limitation; the less adequate may be able to function only if they can rest more heavily on these, much as a small child needs to depend for his standards of behavior on the authority of the parents. Thus, certain weak individuals can function only if there is some definite authority by which they act, and in many difficult marital situations the fact that the father's rights and responsibilities are set by law affords the only possible basis for any stability or continuity in the family life. Moreover the law is an impersonal authority, and I suspect that much personal hostility between two individuals can be absorbed into this because, if the complainant feels that the law actually has this matter in hand, he is much more willing to abide by regulations set up than on the emotional whims of his legal partner. I would like to illustrate by a case in which the relationship is not a legal one but the processes seem none the less valid.

Dorothy S. was a frightened, confused, and rather inadequate young woman, who came to the family agency after she had borne an illegitimate child. At first she had hoped the young man would marry her but became discouraged about this and instituted bastardy proceedings in which she secured a settlement which was to be paid in weekly instalments. The young man in question was at first prompt in his payments but grew lax as time went on and had to be prodded occasionally by the court. He was able to pay and not irresponsible in his attitude, but with other interests developing needed the authority of the court to hold him to his responsibility.

In this case society had a right to expect support for the child's care, and this was carried out to advantage by the court action, and the father's weaknesses were bolstered up by the authority of the court. But what of attitudes involved?

The case worker gradually came to know this young man as he came in, expressing as much confusion as the girl. He did not want to marry Dorothy, realized her inadequacies, and knew he could not be happy with her and that his family would never accept her. Yet he felt responsible and as if he ought to suffer as much as she for their mistake. He was also fond of the baby and wanted

assurance that she was being well cared for. What could he do? He felt tied down and as if he had ruined his life. In a way it was good that she took him to court; it saved him from just running away from it all, and he felt as if he were doing something even if he didn't marry her.

Dorothy, on the other hand, had not given up hope of marriage. Estranged from her family, more or less alone, and unable to make her way in the world, she fell back on marriage as a solution to her dependency needs—a way of salvaging her reputation and, when angry, a way of punishing the boy. Our case-work efforts were directed toward helping her gain her own footing in the world, and I might say that this has now been carried out to a point where she is self-supporting, has normal social and recreational interests, and is much better equipped to care for her child and to make a success of her own life than she was when she came to us. During that difficult period of adjustment, however, the fact that her situation had been given legal status in the court was tangible evidence that she did not have to bear the entire responsibility for the child and that there was somebody to see that if the father would not marry her, he at least was having to take some responsibility. Because of this, I think she was saved from forcing undue demands on the young man and precipitating a marriage that probably would have failed.

I could cite many other instances in which the case worker helped the client make use of legal resources as part of a total adjustment program rather than an alternative to case-work service. The point I want to stress is that the authority of the law may have a very real place in the client's solution of his problem and that the client and the worker will make best use of it if they understand both the practical advantages to be gained and the emotional values it will have for the individuals involved.

So far I have dealt with legal service as an aid or part of case-work service. I do not mean to imply that there are not cases which lend themselves much more readily to legal action than case-work service, and I am assuming throughout that a case worker knows when her province ends in the matter of straight legal advice and guidance. There remains a group of cases where we may only uselessly embroil ourselves, where the individual's behavior and attitudes will not be modified by our case-work efforts, and where perhaps if we allow him to go too far into this easy and accepting relationship we may only be helping him to escape a harsh reality which he must ultimately face. Social workers have been accused sometimes of being too understanding, and it may be true that in a certain number

of cases understanding does not reach any constructive end. These in the main are the emotionally sick and very inadequate individuals. Here again we need careful diagnostic thinking to evaluate what use legal service may be. The authoritative aspects, however, again come to mind. I am going to cite a rather dramatic example, although I think there are many lesser situations in which the family agency has been prone to ease things along and try to work with individuals whose difficulties were so deep-seated that in the end we reinforced their inability to face the world as it really is.

Mr. G., an earnest-appearing young man, came to the office asking us to help get his wife to return to him. He appeared genuinely distressed about their separation, said that he had had some trouble and had been imprisoned but was now out on parole and very anxious to go straight if she would stand by him. He told us of a childhood in which he had been kept babyish and effeminate. He made a break for independence by two daring robberies in one of which he had sexually attacked and injured a woman. He appeared extremely attached to and dependent on his parole officer and expressed fear of what he would do if he were released from parole. When the wife was seen she refused to go back to him and described extremely unstable and occasionally brutal behavior occurring during their marriage.

Our evaluation here is that we are dealing with an emotionally sick and socially dangerous individual, and we doubt that case work has any techniques for helping him. We can also see that we might allow him to regress to a point where his strong antisocial tendencies would again gain control over him. We see him as needing rather strict control, perhaps in a protected environment, and would seriously doubt any attempt to encourage the wife to return to him.

To recapitulate, the case worker is not necessarily faced with a choice between case-work service and legal action. She will probably meet a group of cases where the client is not ready to take such drastic steps and others where, even though legal action is carried out, it will not satisfy the strong emotional needs behind the complaint. In these cases highly individualized adjustment service of the case worker seems indicated in an effort to clarify the real issues and if possible to work toward an adjustment which will not need the authority of the law behind it. In another group of cases the need for legal action may develop concurrently with case-work activities and will appear as one part of the solution of the client's

total difficulty. Here we will need very careful diagnostic thinking to estimate what part legal action will play in the total picture. Recognizing that it will have emotional value to the client, we must be ready to help him to use it toward a constructive solution rather than for the punishment of another person or his own neurotic needs. Growing awareness of the place of authority in the life-adjustment of the individual should help us to accept legal action where it is indicated. In a third group of cases we will see that a clear-cut, authoritative use of the law will be a more sustaining and constructive force in the life of the client or the family than the more involved processes of case work which may allow a weak or disturbed individual to regress into antisocial behavior. In any situation, however, the case worker will need understanding and acceptance of legal process as part of the social structure on which the individual's adjustment rests. Only when we are clear, informed, and free from bias will we be able to help the client make the best use of this resource and direct both kinds of service to their most effective ends.

United Charities of Chicago

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MONEY IN THE CHILD-PLACING AGENCY'S WORK WITH THE CHILD, OWN PARENTS, AND FOSTER-PARENTS[1]

LEON H. RICHMAN

THIS discussion of the significance of money is the result of an attempt to explore a limited phase of the work of a private child-placing agency in an urban community. I believe, however, that some of the elements within this presentation are applicable to any child-placement setting, private or public.

The general principles that guide the child-placing agency in its work with parents will also influence the agency's approach to parents in relation to money. In accordance with the definition of the basic purpose of the child-placing agency, the child is the primary client. If this concept is acceptable, the agency's relationship to others in the constellation becomes clear. The responsibility of the agency for the child is an all-inclusive one, and the responsibility toward the parent is limited. Thus, in the work with natural parents, the agency is primarily concerned with the problems arising out of the placement situation and not with the parents' total needs. Should the parents require help with personal problems, or with economic or medical needs, it is the agency's responsibility to understand those needs and to refer the parents to the appropriate community resources. The parents may accept or reject the facilities to which they have been directed. The case worker must have the professional maturity to withhold himself from situations which the agency is not equipped to help.

The position of the parent who moves in the direction of placement of his child is a difficult one indeed. He must experience the conflicts that naturally accrue from running athwart traditions and conventions. He is very much threatened as he gives up a responsibility which he does not wish but which he knows he is expected to

[1] A paper read at a meeting of the Case Work Section of the Sixty-seventh National Conference of Social Work in Atlantic City, June, 1941. Reprints of this article may be obtained from the University of Chicago Press at the rate of ten for one dollar.

carry. As he is able to find in the worker some understanding of these feelings he may be able to move out of his fear of participating in the placement process. Because many workers have experienced some frustration in their parental relationships and because of their preoccupation with the child and his welfare, the process of identifying with parents is not a simple one.

By focusing attention on the realistic aspects of placement, the worker can be helpful to the parents from the point of intake and throughout the contact. One such area concerns itself with the question of money. The use of money must be related to the specialized function of the children's agency, the core of which is placement and not relief. The handling of money is not a distinct and separate process but is an integral part of the case-work activity with parents, foster-parents, and children. It has to be carried out with the same psychological consciousness and with the same case-work principles as are applied in other areas of case work. Money represents one of the reality limits within the agency structure around which the client and the worker can become engaged in the placement situation. The parent can test out his real desire of the specific help the agency provides, and the case worker gains an understanding of the parent and the need he is attempting to express. Through their participation in determining the amount of support that can be secured, parents gain an understanding of the conditions under which placement may be possible.

Though money is essential for self-preservation for everyone, it has different emotional values for different persons. Similarly, not all agencies will approach the problem of money in the same way. They may accept the underlying principles, and then work them out on the basis of their individual situations. Difference in agency philosophy and differences in community attitudes and resources contribute toward the molding of agency pattern of work. Though a major responsibility of children's agencies is to provide support for children from private or public funds, the nomenclature employed is usually "board," "support," or "maintenance," and not "relief." The difference in name is significant, as it reflects community attitudes. Boards of child-care agencies not only recognize the rights of children for support, but are also usually more tolerant of the parent

who fails to support his child in placement than of the parent who shirks his responsibility to his family that is intact. Because of these community attitudes, it is less threatening to a parent to request placement in terms of support for his child, and to repress or conceal the more painful, personal reasons for desiring separation from the child. To many parents, money that is requested for themselves has a different meaning from money asked for the support of their children in the form of placement. It is not rare to have a rejecting parent rationalize his request for placement as a means of avoiding or escaping "charity."

The parent's reaction to the discussion of money will depend on his personality makeup and on his attitude toward the child and the agency. The self-punitive, the guilty, rejecting parent will deprive himself in order to meet his financial obligations. The parent who has always assumed responsibility for his family, as well as the parent who wishes to gain prestige in the eyes of the child or foster-parents and agency, will react differently from the dependent, receptive parent, to whom services for his children, as all social services, imply giving whether in the form of material or immaterial things. But human nature is unpredictable, and an agency cannot always be sure of a parent's reaction when faced with the actuality of his child's living in a foster-home. The agency is justified in testing out these parents before accepting their dependency. Any demands made upon an individual that are in keeping with his ability to meet them should further his growth. Though money is only one part of the whole placement experience, it is such real and concrete parts that a parent can understand and translate into feeling.

The following summary will illustrate some of the points I have been trying to make:

Mr. and Mrs. K, who have known the agency through relatives who boarded children, applied for the placement of their sixteen-year-old delinquent boy. The juvenile court had recommended either placement or commitment to a reformatory. Mr. K had resisted coming to the agency. In the course of the interview it became apparent that the father had been critical of his son's school retardation and favored his only other child, a girl of twelve. When the question of support was raised, the K's claimed inability to con-

tribute anything and proposed boarding a child in their home in exchange for the agency's support of their son. When told that such an arrangement was contrary to the agency's policy, Mr. K became excited, refused to discuss his budget, saying, "Do what you want, I won't pay five cents. Let the court send him away." He left the office abruptly.

A week later the K's came to the office by appointment. Mr. K began the interview by verbalizing considerable hostility against people "who did nothing for you unless you paid them." Politicians who promised to have the boy released had failed him because he could not offer to pay for their services. He then proceeded to say that people who were trying to help the boy were in reality punishing the parents. He did not know how the agency could help him. He then said, "I told you before that if you can't give me a child, I can't pay you." He was sure he would make a good foster-father. The worker gave him support in this feeling, and again explained the agency policy which applied to all parents. Mr. K spoke of the juvenile court with resentment. He was helped to verbalize his negative feelings to the placement agency. He turned to the worker and said, "You tell me what to do." He brought out the fact that he did not wish his son to go to a reformatory, and only foster-home placement was left to him. The worker stated that the agency recognized that the child was his responsibility, and, if he desired, the agency was ready to share in the financial support of the child if Mr. K would contribute in accordance with his ability. After a realistic discussion of the father's income and expenses and the agency's budget for the child, the father agreed to contribute seven dollars a month.

Mr. K then verbalized considerable hostility toward his son, insisting that all his troubles were from being an honorable man and a good father. He turned to his wife, saying that it would be necessary to save the seven dollars from the household budget. After the financial agreement was signed, Mr. K seemed somewhat more relaxed and spoke of his fears about having the boy home, since he anticipated further difficulty.

Through the use of the agency's procedure about money, the father was helped to define the problem for himself and to decide whether he wanted the agency's help. His attitude changed from one

of denying his need of the agency's help to an acceptance of his real feelings about having his son at home. The case worker appreciated the father's ambivalence about placement, and the difficult position in which he found himself. In one swoop, he was faced with his total failure as a parent. He, therefore, tried to salve his feelings by trying to coerce the agency to accept him as a foster-parent. His struggle between the desire for help and the resistance to receiving it was further aggravated by the fact that he was forced by the court action to ask for help. He also recognized that the court would not permit the situation to remain unchanged. In his struggle with the agency procedure, the father regained a degree of personal strength which had been threatened by the court. He experienced the feeling of having some control in making the ultimate decision in his relation to the child-placement agency. He sensed the agency's request for money from him as a sharing of responsibility and not as a form of punishment. Since the contribution represented a personal sacrifice to him, his guilt in relation to the son was eased sufficiently for him to admit that he really did not want his son at home.

The situation was quite different in the case of another parent, who wished to solve her neurotic needs by offering to pay more than she could afford. Mrs. B had been deprived both emotionally and materially since childhood. After her husband's desertion, she found herself burdened with a child whom she supported out of her ten-dollar-a-week salary. She neglected the child and offered him very little love. She identified him with her husband, whom she disliked intensely. In the course of placement, her rejecting attitude to the child became more apparent. Though she would not consent to permanent separation, she also refused to consider any plan which would necessitate her living with the child. She wanted the placement to be "for a long time" and immediately offered to increase her contribution if this would assure the child's placement.

This mother was afraid of her feelings toward the boy and of his pattern of response, which was of an infantile, regressive, and demanding character. Payment for board played a very alleviating role for her. She was buying her freedom and relief from guilt. This kind of reaction is also frequently observed among unmarried mothers, who for neurotic reasons cannot give their children in adoption,

nor do they wish to live with them or be otherwise personally involved. Just as some parents may wish to purchase their freedom of their children in this manner, the agency may wish to free some children from their parents by assuming complete financial responsibility for their care. A similar approach may have to be utilized with the very disturbed parent who reacts with panic to any demands and may seriously disrupt the placement.

One of the most baffling money problems is with the parent whose child has been accepted for care on a voluntary basis, and who does not deny his financial responsibility but threatens with removal of the child if pressed for support. Such a situation arose when Mr. and Mrs. A failed to abide by their financial agreement after meeting the first payment. They had requested placement because of the child's behavior. The child's attitude to the father was expressed in his statement to worker, "I think my father will have to kill me, his beatings don't bother me any more." The mother never accepted this son, having wished for a daughter. She resented giving up her employment and being "cooped up and out of circulation." The parents visited the boy only during the summer whenever they happened to pass by the foster-home on their occasional week-end outings to the country.

There is considerable difference of opinion among workers in the approach to this problem. All recognize the protective character of the child-placing agency, but some maintain that the juvenile court should determine whether a child is in need of protective services. If there are no sufficient legal grounds for keeping a child from his parents, he should be returned to them when they refuse to assume financial responsibility. Others maintain that the social and not the legal definition of neglect should guide the agency's action. A child should be returned to his parents only when his emotional and physical well-being can be reasonably safeguarded; otherwise the agency should be ready to continue caring for the child. The following assumptions operate here: first, the parent is not motivated by an interest in the child in threatening his removal—it is, rather, his unwillingness to make any sacrifice specifically for the child; second, that the child-placing agency should be competent to evaluate with some degree of objectivity the child's needs, which he, himself, can-

not express and the parent at times cannot recognize; third, that legal provisions for the protection of children have always lagged behind the actual practice in progressive social agencies.

The second aspect of the problem is the child who also expresses some of his inner conflicts by demanding material things from the agency. The worker must relate himself professionally to the child as he does to the parents. The case-work principles that operate in the work with parents are applicable to the work with children. Money can be one of the focal points at which the child may mobilize his energies for reorganization in the placement situation. Through the use of money it is possible to determine how the child relates himself to the agency, which has the power to give as well as to refuse and to determine the way in which he accepts limitations which reality imposes on him. Although the agency is concerned with each child as an individual, it cannot attempt to meet all his needs. Life itself implies limits to which the individual must adjust if he is to survive. Irrespective of the degree of flexibility in the administration of its services, a social agency functions through defined policies and procedures, the purpose of which should be to guide the process of helping. When these procedures are used responsibly and with understanding the worker can help the child in his struggle to articulate his need.

The following summary will illustrate how the use of money offers a child an opportunity to get to her conflicting feelings about her mother and the separation from her:

A girl of fifteen was referred by the family agency for placement. The reason for the referral and for the child's difficulties in her own home was made clear by the mother, who ended her interview with the child-care worker with this statement: "It is a shame to say it, but I get so mad every time I look at that girl that I could strike her." The girl began her interview by presenting a list of material demands of the agency. She verbalized no dissatisfaction with her own home other than that her mother was poor and could not afford to provide her with nice clothes. If she could not have the allowance and the clothes she wanted, there was no use in going to a foster-home. The worker sympathized with her desires but indicated that the agency was governed by definite budgets which had to apply to

her. The agency objective in placing children because they might be happier in foster-homes was explained to her. With the worker's help the girl was able to say that she might be happier in a foster-home, but added: "I'd like to talk some more to my mother; maybe she'll have some more ideas why I should or shouldn't be placed." In subsequent contacts she continued to make material demands, but the worker maintained her position in relation to placement as defined by her agency. The girl was thus helped to face the real, though more painful, reason for her need of placement. In the fifth interview she came to terms with her fears of separation and said, "I just don't get along with my mother. She's always yelling at me or me at her. I can't stay with her any longer. Any place would be better."

This child was afraid of placement and repressed this fear. She presented her problem as she saw it without an awareness of its symptomatic nature. Her home was the known, and the known at the moment was more satisfying than the future with its uncertainties. It was difficult for her to face her mother's rejection. Not until she was sure of the worker's interest in and respect for her feelings and rights to decide about placement was she able to throw off her defenses which the material demands represented.

Most child-care agencies have a system of personal allowance for children. A portion of this allowance is entirely the child's, to do what he pleases with, so long as no one is annoyed through its use. It is assumed that the child gains a sense of independence by spending his own money, and the element of choice it affords contributes to the process of ego development. An important element of this personal experience is an emerging set of values, though they are tentative and subject to modifications. The value of the experience is determined by the contribution it makes to the child's growth. The agency's use of the allowance may be either constructive or destructive in the child's development and must be dealt with on an individual basis. It may either help or interfere with the child's integration in the foster-family. To use the allowance helpfully, the worker must understand the dynamics of the child and foster-family relationship. Some children want the foster-mothers to give them the allowance in the manner they give it to their own children. They have a need for the foster-mothers to give this evidence of mother-

child relationship. Money to them is a symbol of love and security. A boy of sixteen refused the weekly allowance in a lump sum because he wanted the foster-mother to give him some of his allowance every day as was her practice with her own children.

Many foster-mothers are greatly annoyed by exaggerated demands of children for clothes and money. The reason for such demands will differ with different children. The aggressive and disturbed child finds it easier to express his emotional needs through material demands. The deprived child may use this as a means of expressing his feeling about the foster-parent who fails to meet his fundamental need for a giving and loving parent. The child who fails to understand or accept the reason for his separation from his own family and holds the agency responsible for it, will punish the agency by his demands. Some children consider the agency an unlimited financial reservoir. To all these children their demands are real and are charged with emotion. The agency fails them if the significance of these demands is not understood and met with case-work skill.

The following portion of an interview with a fourteen-year-old, intellectually superior, disturbed boy betrays the fact that money is not the real issue in some children's demands.

Although it was only the first week of the month, the foster-mother had already given Robert a half of his allowance. He referred to her as "an easy mark and a sucker." He nagged her until she gave in. He requested his monthly allowance in one sum, and, when told that this would be arranged after he learned to manage his weekly allowance, he became irritated and raised his voice. He suddenly demanded fifteen cents increase in his allowance, stating, "I just want it. Give it to me." The worker said he knew the agency did not grant an allowance on that basis and went over his budget with him. He had no comeback when his allowance covered all his necessities. His only response was, "I just want it." He would not consider working on Saturdays, saying, "Why should I work? I get everything I want from you. The other kids are suckers. I won't work for my money. I'll loaf. When I work I'll get good pay. Maybe I'll get a gun and just get money the easy way. Maybe I'll even land in jail." The worker said, "That's up to you." "I bet you're disgusted with me," said Robert. "I'll bet you wouldn't be so patient if you

weren't getting paid for this." The worker commented, "You're not so sure that I like you, and you're just trying to find out how much I can stand." Robert said, "If you are not angry, why are you twirling the pencil?" The worker explained that it was a habit called "doodling," and said, "Why don't you do your worst, and then you'll be convinced once and for all whether I like you?" Robert hesitated, smiled, and said, "No, I won't." He took the pencil and lit a match to it. He was told to burn it outside as he might set fire to the car; he put it out. Just then several of his friends passed by and he wanted the worker to look at them, "So that they can see you. I'm going to tell them you're my father."

We get here the whole gamut of the child's resentment against people who do not give in to him. Robert wanted to discover the worker's acceptance of him. He was relieved to find that the worker was not ruffled by his threats and that he was not a "sucker." His reaction was evident in his desire to show off the worker as his father. The worker externalized the force that was controlling and limiting him and the child. His understanding of the child's aggressive demands and his professional skill helped in cementing a relationship with this child.

It is natural for all children to be dependent on others for money and support, but children who have suffered deprivation in their own home and are subjected to the influence of dependent parents have a greater need to be dependent on an agency for a longer period of time than the average child in his own home. If the agency's established budgetary policies with reference to clothing and allowance are fair in terms of community standards, skilful handling of the child's demands for money and other material things can help him to understand his dependent needs and can prepare him to become independent at the appropriate time. Children, like adults, can be helped to accept agency limits and develop in the process.

It is assumed that it is gratifying to foster-children to receive money from their own parents. The significance of the money, however, is derived primarily from the emotional quality of the parent-child relationship. Compensatory giving by a fundamentally rejecting parent does not basically meet the needs of the deprived child. Children are either able to utilize these tokens of guilt and gain tem-

porary emotional gratification, or they become irritated by this form of giving and react with aggression. The response of some children may be a condensation of both gratification and irritation. For instance, a boy of nineteen, who repeatedly failed on his jobs, told his worker, "Why should I work? The least my father can do is to support me until I'm twenty-one. Isn't he my father? Let him pay!" This father had at one time denied paternity of this boy. Though he assumed complete financial responsibility for his son, his rejection of him was quite evident. The boy's desire to be supported by his father might have meant assurance that he was not illegitimate and it also might have been a means of punishing the father. On the other hand, being given money by a fundamentally interested parent becomes a symbol of real acceptance of the child and helps in his emotional and ego development. It may be advisable at times for the agency to make it financially possible for some parents to present the child with a gift on special occasions, because of its meaning to the parent and the child.

A third aspect of the problem is related to the foster-parents. Though foster-parents are the core of the agency's program, they have generally been taken very much for granted, and questions pertaining to the work with foster-parents have not received adequate consideration. This is particularly true with reference to the significance of money, but the confusion that exists may be an expression of the development that is taking place. Competence is the primary criterion in the evaluation of foster-parents, but altruism is stressed where the question of money is concerned. Their motive in wishing to take on the difficult task of caring for a growing child at the prevailing low board rate is questioned because social workers recognize that there is no pure benevolence. On the other hand, they are considered mercenary when they request compensation commensurate with their services. Perhaps this manifestation of fear on the part of the agency that foster-parents will take more than is due them, and the tradition which abhors the idea of paying for the care of children, are responsible for prospective foster-parents' common expressed motive to do a "good deed." Since agency board rates are fairly well established, it is at times possible to determine the applicant's ability to work with the agency through his reaction to the board rate.

A prospective foster-mother said she wanted to board a child because she loved children. When assured that the agency considered it legitimate for foster-parents to expect remuneration, she produced itemized expenditures she anticipated in boarding a child. She insisted on a higher board rate because her standards were superior. In this discussion she revealed herself inflexible and unable to view the agency apart from her own need. This impression of her was confirmed when she described the type of child she would accept.

Undoubtedly, some unmet needs in the lives of foster-parents bring them to the agency, but the financial motive looms large in the majority of cases. Moreover, not all foster-parents can experience emotional gratification in caring for the type of children they have been called upon to help within recent years. Most of them have to cope with disturbed and unresponsive children and with unsympathetic, neurotic parents. Their frustrations and anxieties are frequently expressed in their demands for board increases. The demands for money on the part of dependent foster-parents may stem from their feeling that the worker has not given them due recognition and has not met their emotional needs. Some foster-parents' demands may be due to their inability to accept the inevitable disappointments which are inherent in the care of foster-children.

Mr. and Mrs. B, middle-aged, childless foster-parents, requested an increase in board for a five-year-old foster-child. They wished to use the additional money to pay someone to stay evenings with the child, to make it possible for them to go out. The worker feared that the child might lose a good home if the request were denied. The foster-parents seemed attached to the child and were giving her excellent care. The supervisor suggested that this request be discussed with the foster-parents in terms of their attitudes and feelings toward the child, and this approach was subsequently used by the worker. During the interview the foster-parents became aware of their unsuccessful attempt to repress their anxiety over their childlessness, which this child had reawakened. They found that the social adjustment which they had made within a group of childless couples was being upset because of their responsibility for the child. Though they knew that the mother had no interest in the child, who required long-time care, they feared that she might be returned to

her mother after they had become attached to her. At the end of the interview these parents were greatly relieved and were able to say, "We love her, but it is best that she leave us *now*."

These foster-parents did not need the money, and their feelings toward the child would have been further complicated had an increase in board been granted. It is difficult to speculate whether they were conscious of their desire to have the agency assume the responsibility for the child's transfer from their home by refusing to grant the increase. Recognizing the foster-parents' ambivalence toward the child, which made it difficult for them to request the child's removal, the worker supported them in their right to decide to continue the mode of living they had worked out for themselves in the absence of a child. The worker's acceptance of their desire to give up the child made it easier for the foster-father to express freely his competitive feeling toward this child in a brief, but significant comment, "I'll have my wife back." The foster-parents' fundamental attitude was revealed in their statement, "We are not ready for a foster-child."

The question of money may have particular personal significance to the child-placement worker as an individual. This aspect deserves serious consideration but would require another discussion, and, therefore, has not been included here.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize that money may have many emotional values to the child, the parent, and the foster-parent, and that the significance of money is derived from the professional understanding and the skill which the worker brings to the case-work process. The material which has been presented here raises questions for further exploration and is suggestive of the complicated problems inherent in any attempt to make agency procedures about money a realistic living experience for worker and client.

JEWISH CHILDREN'S BUREAU
CHICAGO

MEXICAN REPATRIATION FROM MICHIGAN

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

NORMAN D. HUMPHREY

WHAT is "repatriation"? The term gained currency during the early years of the depression when immigrant peoples returned from the United States to their native lands. Simply, it denotes a restoration to one's homeland. The term "deportation" differs in connotation since it has a coercive or compulsive element which repatriation does not. Yet, with particular reference to Mexican repatriation from Michigan, American-born children of Mexican parentage were sent to Mexico, and some degree of coercion was exercised to effect many a family's return. "Forced" repatriation became so usual on a national level, and so much a part of agency policy, that the Immigrants' Protective League of Chicago found it necessary to issue a statement emphasizing that the client's "stake" in America must be thoroughly considered before repatriation was planned.[1]

The Michigan State Welfare Department issued a brochure on the subject and "explained" the meaning of repatriation in the following manner: "In technical language Repatriation refers to the alien who by reason of his age or physical condition is unable to become rehabilitated in the economic situation today."[2] How frankly stated!

Why was this program adopted, and what relation did it have to the role of the Mexican immigrant in American life? The Mexican first came to the United States as a laborer, and the volume of immigration increased during the first World War. With the stoppage of European immigration the previous trickle of Mexican immigrants enlarged to a stream "which ran its course for a decade."[3]

[1] "Back to the Homeland," *Survey*, LXIX (January, 1933), 39.

[2] *Repatriation* (Lansing: State Welfare Department, n.d.).

[3] P. S. Taylor, "Mexicans North of the Rio Grande," *Survey*, LXVI (May 1, 1931), 135.

Encouraged by the federal government they continued to arrive in large numbers "for the lowest grade of migratory labor."[4] The Mexican laborer, however, was not everywhere migratory. In South Chicago, in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in Detroit, he became an industrial worker.

In St. Paul, Minnesota, the settled Mexican indigent was studied for a year by the International Institute. The main problem arising from their material they viewed as being one of changing attitudes toward this ethnic group. Mexican labor, willing to work for wages less than those which natives would accept, was imported. When, during the depression, lower wages became general, "the imported Mexican found himself an unpopular competitor for jobs, and an equally unwelcome candidate for relief."[5]

In various parts of the country, therefore, a solution to one aspect of the relief problem presented itself to welfare administrators in the form of a repatriation program. In Michigan the solution was put rather boldly: "With steady increases in the county relief lists, the problem of adequate care is becoming ever harder to solve; and it is obvious that any reduction in the relief load effective through repatriation service will be a significant factor toward the solution."[6]

Carey McWilliams, observing a similar trend in Los Angeles, ironically observed this uprooting of a section of the American population and disparaged the mentality and values of its originators.

> The repatriation program is regarded locally as a piece of consummate statescraft. The average per family cost of executing it is $71.14, including food and transportation. It cost Los Angeles County $77,249.29 to repatriate one shipment of 9,024. It would have cost $424,933.70 to provide this number with such charitable assistance as they would have been entitled to had they remained—a saving of $347,468.41.[7]

These statements must not be construed, however, as meaning that repatriation was wholly an involuntary thing, for the Mexican migrant returned also of his own accord. Such voluntary repatria-

[4] W. V. Woehlke, "Don't Drive Out the Mexicans," *Review of Reviews*, LXXXI (May, 1930), 68.

[5] "Mexican Migrants," *Survey*, LXXIII (March, 1937), 83.

[6] *Repatriation* (Lansing: State Welfare Department, n.d.).

[7] "Getting Rid of the Mexican," *American Mercury*, XXVIII (March, 1933), 323.

tion had occurred previous to the great depression. "The net balance of repatriations to Mexico of 45,000 in 1930 reported by the Department of State upon advice from Mexican sources, is much less than a similar balance of 97,000 in 1921."[8] R. N. McLean, observing returning Mexicans crossing the border at El Paso in 1931, viewed the repatriates as consisting of four classes:

> First come the deported Mexicans. This is by far the smallest group. . . . . According to the estimate of the Mexican consul, between thirty and forty Mexicans a month are deported from the 31st district with headquarters at Los Angeles. . . . . The estimate for the whole country set by the Department of Labor for the fiscal year ending June 30 [1931] is 18,500, and it is probable that the proportion of Mexicans will be somewhat more than half. Much larger . . . . is the group made up of those called "voluntary returns." . . . . Still larger is the group made up of those who are either here legally, or whose status [had not been questioned, but who are returning]. . . . . The fourth class is made up of indigent Mexicans whose hearts are singing the songs of Morelos, Jalisco and Michoacan, but who have not the money to return.[9]

Why did the Mexican voluntarily return? Taylor viewed these as the causes: "discouragement, sentiment, resentment against discriminations, and a passionate patriotism all urge return to Mexico."[10]

McLean characteristically asks and answers this question:

> Just why is Vincente going home? He goes because of the economic depression. For months he has listened to the patter of the people who brought him, assuring him that there soon would be work for everyone. As he has hungered and waited he has seen municipality after municipality pass ordinances restricting work on public improvements to citizens. He has always known that if he became a citizen he would still be a Mexican in the eyes of everyone except his own consul, whose help and protection he would immediately lose. He has seen social pressure brought to bear upon corporations to fire Mexicans and hire Americans. . . . . Once Vincente was needed, and had a welcome; now he gets the cold shoulder everywhere. His heart is sick, and he wants to go home. . . . . In the third place Vincente is going home drawn by the land hunger in his heart.[11]

In the case material which follows it will be shown that the Mexican is neither always certain why he wishes to return nor why he

[8] Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

[9] "Goodbye, Vincente!" *Survey*, LXVI (May 1, 1931), 183.

[10] Taylor, *op. cit.*

[11] McLean, *op. cit.*, pp. 195–96.

wishes to stay. Ordinarily when the Mexican family comes to the United States it does so with intention of ultimately returning to its native soil. The Mexican immigrant is usually conscious of his role in the United States but seldom faces the probability that his migration is more permanent than he had intended. The expected return to Mexico continues to recede into the future, while ties to the United States become stronger. Taylor feels that it is "the young people whose attachments to the United States become the strongest anchors against return."[12]

Turning to the historical and social factors involved in the more local aspects of repatriation, the question arises as to what the major populational outlines of the Mexican colony in Detroit and in Michigan were which led to the repatriation programs.

The Mexican colony in Detroit first grew to noticeable size in 1918 when several hundred Mexicans came there to work in the motor-car factories as students. Later laborers poured in to replace workmen who had enlisted to fight in the American army.[13] The members of the colony were then noted to be "unobtrusive, industrious and patriotic."[14] In December, 1920, the colony was estimated to have eight thousand members,[15] but two months later the colony is noted to have dwindled to two thousand five hundred persons. "Most [of those who left Detroit] had worked in the sugar beet fields in the summer and come to Detroit for the winter at the promise of jobs."[16] The Mexican government helped pay their return fares to Mexico.

But with better times the colony began to increase. In 1923 Our Lady of Guadelupe Church was opened, clubs grew up in the colony, and on May 5 and September 16, Mexican national holidays were celebrated through the work of the Mexican Honorary Commission, members to which body were appointed by the consul. In 1926 there were an estimated five thousand Mexicans in Detroit and fifteen thousand others in Michigan. "The type of Mexican that comes," a reporter observed, "is not the 'mañana' type but those who have caught the inspiration of aggressive work and self-im-

[12] Taylor, *op. cit.*

[13] *Detroit News*, January 26, 1931.

[14] *Ibid.*, October 3, 1920.

[15] *Ibid.*, December 11, 1920.

[16] *Ibid.*, February 16, 1921.

provement from their Northern neighbors."[17] The colony reached its maximum population in 1928, when unsettled conditions in Mexico caused thousands to emigrate to the United States. It is estimated that the colony at that time numbered fifteen thousand.[18]

With the onset of the depression the number declined. At first the Mexican consul, Ignacio Batiza, attempted to gain aid in Detroit for his charges, but eventually a repatriation program began to take form. The consul was "responsible for getting the governments of Detroit and Mexico together to bring about their [i.e., Mexican families] migration to the land from which they came."[19] On October 10, 1931, sixty-nine Mexicans left Detroit. It was the Detroit Department of Public Welfare in co-operation with the Mexican government that "made their return possible." The Welfare Department paid their fares to the Mexican border, and the Mexican government undertook to do the rest. This applied, however, only to those who had come to Detroit after 1929; for, as John L. Zurbrick, immigration commissioner, made known, the federal government paid the transportation of those who had been in Detroit prior to that date. Regarding the group which left, Batiza said: "The Mexican colony of Detroit is young. The majority of the 15,000 Mexicans have not been in the United States more than five years. They have not yet adapted themselves to the American ways and have been hit hard by the current depression."[20]

Diego Rivera, in 1932, was painting his murals at the Detroit Art Institute. Aware of the existence of Detroit Mexicans on relief, he formulated a plan. He said (according to newspaper accounts): " 'You should go home' . . . . .Rivera found that to return to Mexico was the one gripping hope in the hearts of all of them."[21]

Under the aegis of Rivera the "League of Workers and Peasants of Mexico" was formed with headquarters at 4326 Toledo Avenue, Detroit. Active also in its formation was Charles E. Benjamin, consul for Honduras, and Luis G. Gasca, a publisher who became its secretary. Approximately eight hundred and fifty Mexicans in

[17] *Ibid.*, August 1, 1926.

[18] *Ibid.*, January 26, 1930.

[19] *Ibid.*, October 10, 1931.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] This obvious overstatement may be considered in the light of the case material presented later.

Detroit registered within the first two weeks. In other parts of the state several hundred more registered.

The Detroit Department of Public Welfare promptly set up a "Mexican Bureau"; and any Mexican who after its establishment found it necessary to apply for aid was first sent to this agency, and there discussion occurred as to the desires of the Mexican family head with reference to a return to his native land.

The formally expressed policy of the Detroit Department of Public Welfare is evidenced in the following excerpts from its bulletins.

> Arrangements have been entirely completed in co-operation with Mexican government, U.S. Immigration, State Authorities and our own Department to transport Mexican families back to Mexico. You are therefore requested to send the heads of all Mexican Families in your District to our Mexican Bureau at 1422 First Street, immediately upon receipt of this *Bulletin*, as we are prepared to arrange their transportation for not later than November 15. Any Mexican applying for relief should be referred to the Mexican Bureau for transport (11–4–32).[22]

By this means the departure of the 1,128 families which had consented to make the journey was expected to result in a large reduction in welfare costs in Detroit alone. "The emigrants, who are leaving voluntarily, will be met at the border by officials of their native government and will be transported to special colonies to be created in each of the 28 states of the neighboring country." By chartering special trains the Mexicans were transported to the border at an average cost of fifteen dollars per person. "This low price, which includes food, was made possible by co-operation with the railroads."[23] A diminution in the Mexican population of the

[22] Other bulletins, issued shortly afterward, say much the same thing: "Following the telephone call from Mr. Tobin, please be sure that the heads of all Mexican Families are sent to the Mexican Bureau at 1422 First Street to be interviewed regarding return to Mexico. The first train will leave on November 15, and the second departure will be made on November 25; all Mexicans should be sent there before those dates. Attached you will find a copy of a letter from the U.S. Department of Labor, citing an Act of Congress, which we should remember when verifying legal entry to the U.S.A." (11–10–32).

"The next departure of Mexicans will be on December 6, 1932, instead of November 25, 1932. Send Mexican heads of families to 1422 First Street for transportation" (11–19–32).

[23] *Detroit Free Press*, October 8, 1932.

Michigan-Ohio area necessarily followed the effecting of this program. Consul Batiza estimated that five-sixths of the 50,000 Mexicans had gone from the area by the end of 1932, "more than half of whom returned to Mexico."[24] By the end of 1932, 1,500 Mexicans had been sent from Michigan, and lesser numbers went back from other near-by states. Most of these removals were "made as voluntary repatriations." In the winter of 1933 it was estimated "that $75,000 to $100,000" would have been expended in the removal of several thousand Mexicans under the repatriation plan.[25]

To what did the Mexican family return? The reported promises of the Mexican government, if not elaborate, were attractive. "Mexico offered to welcome back its expatriates with open arms. A house, a plot of farm land, implements, food and other assistance until they are rehabilitated, has been arranged."[26] Roseate pictures were painted, for American consumption, to rationalize the mass repatriation. Sanchez Flores, Rivera's assistant at the Detroit Art Institute, said that one such colony was nucleated by thirty persons, most of whom were Ford Motor Company employees. Mrs. Basilica Diaz, a widow, inherited an estate in San Luis Potosi, which was "larger than most Michigan colonies." Here "only the industrious, able-bodied, workers are given a chance to settle."[27] A more realistic view of what the Mexicans returned to was given by McLean:

> In the first place there will inevitably come a period of stark want. . . . . Letters are already coming back to El Paso saying, "We wish we had never come!" . . . . And when the cycle of the depression is past . . . . who will thin the beets. . . . . There will again come a time when there will be work "no white will do." . . . . And what will Vincente do when he gets there? A man cannot live in a country thirteen years, share in her social and economic life, beget his children under her flag, and send them to her schools without something happening to him. Will that something fit Chihuahua?[28]

That such apprehensions were felt by Detroit Mexicans is unquestionable, for they are revealed in Detroit Department of Public

[24] Interview with Christy Borth, *Detroit Free Press*, 1932 (undated clipping, Detroit International Center files).

[25] "Back to the Homeland," *Survey*, LXIX (January, 1933), 39.

[26] *Detroit Free Press*, October, 8, 1932.

[27] *Detroit News* (undated clipping in file at Detroit International Center).

[28] McLean, *op. cit.*, pp. 196–97.

Welfare case records. The records may be fruitfully examined to determine what drives there were which led Mexican families to desire a return or to express a wish to stay. The vacillations of those Mexicans who stayed reveal themselves and are significantly individualized in the case records.

The fact which stands out most clearly is that of an ambivalence of attitudes. The male head, for example, recognizes his cultural maladjustment in Detroit and is at odds to know what to do. In the past he has had social workers prodding him to return, and at the same time he is aware of the insecurity and the hardships involved in attempting to return. Humanly, not explicitly knowing what his reasons are, he obtains socially acceptable excuses for staying, or for wanting to return.

If he wants to go, it is because there is work to be found in Mexico, labor in accord with his skills. Usually, before expressing his desire to return, however, he bolsters himself by making certain requirements, each of which is unlikely to be fulfilled. He needs a promise that he will receive land when he returns or money until he can get work and become established. He may require gas and oil money and a sum for other expenses before he will leave. He may desire to send his wife and children ahead until he can earn enough here to establish them properly in Mexico; or the obverse may be held. He may outwardly express a wish to go but be prevented from going because of the illness of a member of the family. Under most of these circumstances, when the time arrives to depart, he will find himself dissuaded from going; so he stays.

Often the male head cannot easily decide the issue, for he must reckon with the feelings of members of his family. He may wish to leave, and his wife may not; or the parental generation may want to return while the children do not; the children may wish to go while the parents won't.

What reasons do people find for not returning? The most potent reason is that in the United States greater security and greater opportunity is offered for living. It is accepted that children have greater possibilities here for educational training which will equip them for life-work. After the first rush of applicants for a return to Mexico, the number rapidly decreased, and letters were written by

repatriates expressing their disappointment both with the mode of travel provided and with the facilities offered for adjustment when they arrived in Mexico. Land and tools had been "promised," but often no adequate provision was actually made. It is not surprising, then, that some hostility to a return to Mexico should have been expressed.

The view that repatriation was the most appropriate method of handling the problems of Mexicans on relief received considerable impetus, however, and various pressures in sundry forms were exerted to attain the goal. Stereotypes of the lazy, improvident, work-hating Mexican were built up, and rarely was there an attempt on the case worker's part to understand the cultural compulsives in the form of traditional patterns and the disruptive forces making for disintegration of forms, operative upon the Mexican, which found expression in the urban environment of Detroit. Even the families of naturalized citizens were urged to repatriate, and the rights of American-born children to citizenship in their native land were explicitly denied or not taken into account. The case workers themselves brought pressures to bear in the form of threats of deportation, stoppage of relief (wholly or in part, as, e.g., in the matter of rent), or by means of trampling on customary procedures. This latter, for example, occurred in such forms as placing a family on the "cafeteria list," which meant that a family would not receive "outdoor relief" in its home, but would have to troop to a commissary for meals. The worker might appeal to the health wishes of a client, noting that the Mexican climate (which it is unlikely she knew anything about) was more conducive to the recovery of the client than was that of Detroit.

Several facts, however, should be borne in mind in order to achieve a balanced view of these practices. During this period both the spirit and the letter of the Transportation Agreement were being upheld by the administrative heads of the Detroit Department of Public Welfare, in spite of the fact that local resources were largely exhausted and the city was virtually bankrupt. The primary instigation for the program of Mexican repatriation had come through overtures from representatives of the Mexican government, and, at the time, it appeared to welfare department administrative heads

that the program had more assets than liabilities. It was felt that, in view of their degree of assimilation, the extent of their skills, and their opportunities in Detroit, to inquire whether Mexican heads of families wished to avail themselves of transportation privileges was to open the door for them to a more favorable and hopeful situation. If seeming coercion occurred in actually carrying out departmental policy, it may be ascribed to the existence of personnel lacking a trained social-work perspective and not to departmental policy per se.[29]

No statement is typical of the range of situations making for repatriation, or of the cases of opposition to it, but the following excerpts from welfare records tend to illustrate certain phases described above.

When the P. family, in 1935, was questioned regarding returning to Mexico, they had been in the United States seven years. At that time they did not wish to return since "they lived better here" (6–13–35). When this was next discussed (9–8–37) "both Mr. P. and Consuelo (the family interpreter) became very much elated saying that they had been trying to return since shortly after they came to this country but did not have sufficient means." Mr. P. felt "that he had a much better chance of getting work in carpentry in Mexico that he had here." He was certain too that his mother, who was a fruit vendor and lives in P——, and Mrs. P's mother, who lives on a ranch near St. R——, would assist him in getting established. A letter was then sent to the immigration authorities to determine the method of repatriation. The immigration service reply (9–28–37) states that "you are informed that the daughter appeared in this office and stated that the mother wishes to remain in the United States with her children, and so does not wish to return to Mexico, but that the father of the family is willing to leave the United States. This office feels, that if this family were removed from the Welfare rolls that they would be forced to return to Mexico." Mrs. V. of the Detroit International Center was then called to interpret for, and aid in determining, the family's attitudes. In answer to Mrs. V.'s question Mr. P. replied "That he was quite willing to return." He felt "that he had several skills at his command, [and that] he would undoubtedly be able to find work in Mexico. He stated [that] he was a baker, a butcher, machinist and stationary engineer, and has several other minor aptitudes." He made it clear, however, that he would not return to Mexico unless his family were willing. Mrs. V. then asked Mrs. P. if she was willing to return to Mexico. Mrs. P. replied that she was perfectly willing to return, provided some measures of security would be

[29] Conversation with Mrs. Irene Murphy of the Detroit Council of Social Agencies, who in 1932 was director of case work for the Detroit Department of Public Welfare.

provided for her when she finally arrived in Mexico. She stipulated the sum of $50 on which to live until Mr. P. received work. She was asked if shelter would be a problem after the family's arrival in Mexico and Mrs. P. replied that it would not. She stated that her mother is not expected to live and has a comfortable home which probably would be available to the family. Mrs. P.'s mother lives in P——. This would be the family's destination. She explained that she is quite conscious of the disadvantages of life in Mexico as compared with the United States. She realizes that there isn't the equality and democracy in Mexico that there is in this country. On the other hand, she feels that she lost two children in this country as a result of the severity of the climate and she fears for the health and life of the other children. It is for this reason that she would gladly return to Mexico and would never consider returning to this country.

At the "Mexican Bureau" discussion occurred which was designed to evince a forthright declaration of the intentions of the Mexican family head regarding his return to Mexico. When knowledge of the actual functions of this agency became widespread in the colony, resistance appeared even to the point of refusals to go to the agency. The referral to the Mexican Bureau usually occurred at the time that the family applied for aid.

The S. family did not wish to return to Mexico and would not go voluntarily (9–15–32). When applying for relief in November, 1932, the family was advised to go to the Mexican Bureau. The family stated that it did not wish to leave the United States since it had lived in this country for the past fourteen years (11–28–32).

Referral was made to the Mexican Bureau, despite frequent protestations by families that repatriation was not desired. The worker, however, might continually question the family about a return.

Although all of both Mr. C.'s and Mrs. C.'s relatives are stated to be living in Mexico, neither is willing to return there (12–15–31). On another occasion both Mr. and Mrs. C. stated that they would like to return to Mexico but they want the children to be educated as best they can be and that they feel the United States is the place where they can best be educated (8–8–32). Nevertheless, in December, 1932, Mr. C. was referred to the Mexican Bureau, but he stated that he was reluctant to go since he did not wish to return to Mexico unless he could get land there (12-6-32). In 1935 he again stated that he had no prospects of work in Mexico and did not wish to return (1–9–35).

The disregard for the feelings of the family and the reiteration of the possibility of a return to Mexico as a solution to the family's problems is paralleled in the following instance:

In 1932 the worker requested Mr. G. to report to 1331 First Street (the Mexican Bureau) in regard to returning to Mexico. Mr. G., however, stated later in the month that he did not wish to return to Mexico unless he was given the money to dress up his family. He wondered, if he did go back, what he would do there. He heard from other Mexicans that conditions were unfavorable. In December, 1932, he stated that he would not go to Mexico, that he would rather stay here under present conditions than return to his native land. Two years later he said he was not interested in returning (12–34).

In some cases the Mexican family head was referred to the Mexican consul's office for advice on returning to Mexico. When Ignacio Batiza was head consul in Detroit, he took a considerable interest in, and was active in, the life of the colony. He disseminated educational material from Mexico to the colony and participated in their societies and clubs. In several instances he made referrals of families to the Welfare Department. The case worker, however, in some cases viewed the consul's office as a tool for repatriation, and men were referred there for consular repatriation.

In January, 1931, Mr. A. conversed with the case worker, who recorded that she had "talked with a man who seemed quite intelligent" (1–2–31). A year later the worker "told man to go to the Fox Theater Building to see the Mexican Consul regarding the family returning to Mexico" (10–21–31). Finally, to no avail, "asked man to report to the Mexican Bureau. Man refused to do this" (11–23–32).

On several occasions family heads went of their own accord to the consul's office, only to determine not to go back to the homeland.

Mr. S. on being asked by the case worker stated that he would not consider returning to Mexico since he has been in this country twelve years and the children were all born here. He stated he had no relatives in Mexico (10–8–32). He, of his own accord, consulted the Mexican Consul and thereupon decided not to return to Mexico (12–3–32).

Ambivalence frequently expressed itself after the Mexican consul had been seen:

Mr. V. went to the Mexican Consul and stated his desire to return to Mexico (8–22–31). He was to have returned as soon as he disposed of his household goods [later it was noted that there was "very little furniture" (6–7–35)], but since he was unable to do this "changed his mind about going" (11–30–31). In 1937 "a short discussion was had regarding Mr. V.'s wishes to return to Mexico. He said that he did not care to go at this time as there was 'nothing doing there' " (11–23–37).

The Mexican as a scapegoat, with repatriation as the method of solving the relief problem, is seen in the following instance. True to the naïve use of the psychological approach to case work, the problem of the family's dependence is ascribed to the individual and not to the social and cultural conditions to which he needs to adjust.

Mr. M. went to the Mexican Consul, Mr. Batiza, and stated that he was willing to return to Mexico, but that he would not be able to do so immediately because of the whooping cough which several of the children have (10–21–30). In 1933, however, the case worker determined that "these people will do nothing to help themselves and we advised them to make arrangements with their Consul to return to Mexico. Mr. M. says he will not return to Mexico. He lays [*sic*] around all day and does not look for work."

Persons who were naturalized citizens, and children who were born citizens, were subjected to scrutinizing inquiry for purposes of "repatriation." In one case the worker strongly insisted that the possibility of continued dependence was grounds for repatriation, despite the fact that the head of the family had been naturalized.

Although Mr. M. had citizenship the worker demanded that he repatriate himself in view of the continuing dependency of his family. This led the worker into a controversy with Mrs. O—— of the St. Vincent De Paul Society and Mr. M. steadfastly refused to see the Mexican Consul (10–7–31).

The worker discovered in the case of the R.'s that "the family are [*sic*] much against going to Mexico as man has citizenship papers. Woman is very hostile to ideas" (1–21–32).

Children might oppose this move for the same reasons.

Mary Lou (fifteen) born in Wayne, Michigan, did not wish to return to Mexico at all [odd, since she had never been there] as she felt that she was a citizen and should not be asked to, and she had heard unfavorable reports from the families who had gone and who had returned to the United States. They had extremely hard times there (10–13–38).

Sickness on the part of some member of the family was a frequent rationalization for not wishing to return. Like other "reasons" it might reflect vacillation between a desire for greater security and the hope for the acquisition of wealth and status, thus tending to prevent an actual determination.

Mr. C.'s brother, Gerardo, made application for repatriation (10–2–31). Joseph C. at that time stated "he himself would like to return to Mexico but his mother is not in physical condition to travel, and it will be necessary for him to remain here and care for her until the time she is able to go."

Because Mrs. M. was pregnant the worker was unable to "send family to Mexico for this reason" (8–25–31). Mr. M., however, was indicated to be ready to return to Mexico as soon as Mrs. M. was able, after the birth of the child (9–15–31). After the child was born he stated he wished to go back (11–19–31). Because of the influence of a person living with them, who had been provided with transportation to Mexico, and refused to go, the family no longer wanted repatriation (2–26–32). In June 1932, Mr. M. said he would try to get along during the summer, and then, if he could not support his family he would return to Mexico in the fall. The worker reminded him that he had not been able to take care of his family for the past two years. [Actually he had provided the rent, by means of junking] (6–6–32). In 1939, the worker discussed with Mr. M. the ownership of a truck which Mr. M. was losing. Mr. M. at that time stated he had bought the truck in the hope that he could make enough money to return to Mexico (1–31–39).

Many persons came to the United States with the hope of achieving security and then, with money saved, to return to the mother-country. The insecurity of gaining a livelihood in industry in Detroit, and the futility of attempting to save money on the pay of the shovel laborer, precluded this. On the other hand, a return as a "failure" would be humiliating. These facts coupled with the forecast of the insecurity of life on return, prevented many from leaving Detroit.

Discussing whether Mr. L. would like to return to Mexico and he stated that he would be glad to go back if he had any money. However, he is ashamed to return with nothing to show "for my whole life." . . . . It was suggested that perhaps a return to Mexico would be beneficial to his wife. Asthma is very bad in the north which probably would clear up in a dry climate. He said, however, that there was nothing there to do, and if people had no work, the government would not take care of them, and just let them starve, and for this reason he did not consider the possibility (12–22–37).

That such views were not mere individual fancies, but attitudes widespread in the Mexican colony, is evidenced by a letter Mrs. V——, social worker for the Latin-American group at the Detroit International Center, wrote to a welfare worker in 1931:

Most of the children were born in these United States, notwithstanding this the family would return to Mexico if they had enough funds to keep them two to three weeks until work can be found. Mr. M. has no relatives to whom to return. There is another reason why Mexicans refuse to return and that is that already many letters have been sent by repatriated Mexicans who left Detroit

without any money, that the amount furnished for food is not enough to carry them to their destination and unless there are relatives to receive them, they have jumped out of the frying pan into the fire (11–11–31).

The unreflective worker, however, concerned with solving the problem of relief in her own way, expressed the prevailing sentiment in the following manner:

It seems futile for Mr. M. to find work here. He is a common laborer and has no trade. Family would be happier in their own country where there would be agricultural work. Plan to return family to Mexico. Man has car and license and could be returned if gas and oil could be secured (5–13–31).

The methods employed, however, were not always consistent with the goal of the ultimate happiness and welfare of the client, nor were they always in accord with the family's expressed desires. Cessation of relief might be advised, or a partial reduction of relief attempted.

Family is contemplating returning to Mexico and (V.) feels they might return more quickly if they are kept on the cafeteria list rather than given a grocery order (9–30–32). In conference the supervisor decided to refuse to pay the rent of the family as they have refused to co-operate with the Department and return to Mexico. Furthermore, the family has never been able to prove their residence and are being carried as a county case (12–27–32).

The ambivalence of many families in regard to returning was variously expressed in the very formation of a plan to achieve security in the home country. In some instances it was felt that employment might be readily secured in Mexico, and hence a return was desired.

Mr. P. stated that it was his desire to return to Mexico, but that Mrs. P. had refused to accompany him. He stated further that he intended to carry out this plan as soon as he had secured enough money for his transportation there. He stated that if Mrs. P. did not wish to return with him he could see nothing that he could do about it. She had made the remark that she would remain on Welfare and he stated that he did not believe this was fair as he was sure of securing employment in Mexico and would be able to take care of his family (9–20–37).

Plans were offered by Mexican heads of families for facing the situation. In some cases the man planned to return his family to Mexico, he himself remaining in the United States, here to secure employment with which to aid them in Mexico.

Mr. A. is now very definitely discouraged as to prospects of steady employment. He spoke rather intelligently about the general economic situation in Detroit and in the country, and said he realized if he continued to live in Detroit that it would mean frequent application to the Welfare Department for aid because it is the policy of the automobile plants to hire men during rush periods and then to lay them off. For this reason Mr. A. would like to return his family to Mexico, remaining behind for the period of a year during which time he would like to earn sufficient money to join the family in Mexico and live on his savings for a while until they could become established (12–28–32). Actually the family remained in Detroit.

A woman suggested a similar solution.

Mrs. M. when prompted by the worker stated that she would like to return to Mexico with the children whereas Mr. M. might remain in Detroit to work for a time until he obtains enough money to return to Mexico (10–31–38).

Dissatisfaction with repatriation on getting to Mexico was determined through contact in that country with returned families by Mrs. Rosa Esperti, worker at the International Institute, and Mrs. Helen LaCroix, of the Detroit Welfare Department, in their visit to Mexico in the summer of 1936. The emergence of this dissatisfaction through the return of a repatriated child to Detroit is to be seen in one case record.

In 1936 a son of Mrs. R.'s brother named Ignacio M., born in Houston, Texas, on 7–31–19, visited the R. family. When he was a baby his father and mother came to Detroit and lived there until 1932. In that year they removed to Mexico City where they now reside. In April, 1937, Ignacio, due to the poor wages paid in Mexico, decided to come back to Detroit and live with an aunt and uncle. He saved up enough money for railroad fare, from Mexico City to Texas, and took the train to Detroit from the border. Since coming to Detroit he has looked for work unsuccessfully, but he does not want to return to Mexico City, and stated that he desired to go to a C.C.C. camp (6–16–36).

The program of Mexican repatriation occurred, on the one hand, as an economy measure for returning to the homeland a large ethnic group, brought into this country as cheap labor, which, with the coming of the depression, was not capable of self-support, and, on the other hand, the program linked in with the broad ideas of social welfare of the government of Mexico. Repatriation as a voluntary measure may well conform to the best standards of case work pro-

cedure, but actually, in the carrying-out of the program, untrained case workers exerted undue pressures in some instances, and in others actually violated clients' rights. As a money-saving device the program may well have been effective, but as a case-work method involving co-operation by the worker and the agency, for the rehabilitation of a rightful segment of the American population, the program may be viewed as having been a failure.

WAYNE UNIVERSITY

GAPS BETWEEN ADMINISTRATION AND RESEARCH IN SOCIAL WELFARE[1]

MALCOLM B. STINSON

ORGANIZED fact-finding or research has become an integral part of the modern welfare agency. This new or extended use of the research method has not been accomplished without some growing-pains. The growing-pains are evidenced by gaps between social research and social service administration. Some of the gaps appear to have their roots in basic training received by social workers and researchers, and hence they are the proper concern of the schools of social work.

The growth of research in welfare agencies may be attributed to several factors. The advent of federal participation in relief through the F.E.R.A. emphasized the need for data regarding the relief problem. Later the Social Security Act made reporting by state agencies a requirement for participation in the public-assistance programs. The most important stimulus, however, has come from social service administrators themselves who recognize that facts and figures are essential in the operation of an agency serving large segments of the population living in such widely scattered areas as those served by the welfare agency of today.

The place of research and statistics in doing the nose-counting or social-accounting job is unquestioned. It is when the research method is applied to other problems of the agency that gaps appear between administration and research.

Probably numerous reasons account for the limited use of the research method as a guide in establishing agency policy. Some of these reasons appear to be rather fundamental differences in philosophy, which may have roots in the basic training and experience of the social service administrator and the research worker.

[1] A paper read at the annual meeting of the American Association of Schools of Social Work, January 31, 1941. The series of papers on research will be available, together, in reprint form.

As social workers we are very reluctant to recognize anything which looks like an "en masse" approach to social welfare problems. We are taught that each family and each individual who comes to the agency for assistance has problems which are peculiar to him alone. We are certain that this concept is true after the first three cases are assigned to us in a field-work course. By the end of the second quarter of our social work course we are convinced that there are few norms and averages in social case work and that hence there is little place for statistics and the research method in the social work field.

But there is more to this story. Sooner or later our young social worker reluctantly leaves the "hallowed walls" of the university and finds himself, sad to relate, in a big public agency. He is assigned a case load of two hundred cases. Here he learns that, while each of his two hundred families has *some* problems which are peculiar to it alone, there are also *some* problems which are common to many or most of the families. He will even find that so many common problems exist that his families have been pigeonholed into what are known as "categories of assistance."

Our young social worker is due to receive another blow, which is even harder than the one just described. He soon learns that his case-work service must be carried on within certain definite limits and that he cannot do everything which would be desirable in a given situation. These limits or agency policies may have been set by his immediate superior, in which case it is fairly easy to convince him of the injustice of a particular policy. However, the social worker is more likely to find the policy in question was set by the downtown office, the state office in the capitol city, or even by a law passed by both houses of the legislature and signed by the governor. It is then that he wishes someone had gathered some facts regarding this problem and assembled them in an orderly and convincing manner in, at least, an attempt to forestall an unwise and unjust policy.

The usefulness of research and organized fact-finding as a guide in the formulation of agency policy has not yet been fully established. Research is viewed as something apart—an addition to the sum total of human knowledge, perhaps, but not as a means of answering some of the everyday problems of the administrator. He

knows that legislatures and agency boards act because of pressures put upon them by organized groups such as the old age pension group. He also knows that prejudices and moral issues such as the concept of the "worthy mother" play an important part in the formulation of law or policy. And yet these known shortcomings of policy-makers do not preclude the usefulness of a few cold facts presented in an orderly and convincing manner. We do not propose to substitute mathematical formulas for good judgment, but we do believe that good judgment could be better judgment if more knowledge of the actual situation were available when decisions are made.

Policy as used here should not be restricted to rules and regulations prescribed by the administrative agency alone. The social service administrator has a great responsibility in guiding legislation and in presenting material which will be helpful to the courts in interpreting legislation. Here the facts regarding the social implications of public policy may not be so well known, and consequently the need for concise and clear presentation of data is even more essential.

Numerous examples of broad public policy made without adequate information or based upon prejudice alone could be cited. The classic example in the welfare field was the return of responsibility for relief to bankrupt counties and localities.

The research division in the agency has an obligation to keep abreast of all developments and thereby to anticipate and to help define the problems on which research will be useful to the administrator. Perhaps the agency is under fire because of alleged mistreatment of a racial or minority group. From data already available, it may be possible by a few special tabulations to demonstrate the equity or inequity of the present policy on the subject and thus save the administrator considerable embarrassment. One demonstration of this type is often enough to prove the worth of the service.

The gap between administration and research often resolves itself into a lack of understanding on the part of administrators and research workers as to contribution each has to make in the program. This brings us to a consideration of what basic training each brings or should bring to the job.

The basis of all social work is case work. Because of this there has

been emphasis in the curriculums of schools of social work on field work and methods of dealing with individual family problems. However, the case worker on the job must also play a part in the research process, and consequently some understanding of the purpose and methods of research should be included in the social work course for persons who will later become case workers.

The chief function of the case worker in the research process is in the collection of data rather than in the summarization and analysis of information. The case worker should understand the need for figures and the need for orderly routines and procedures so that good figures may be obtained. Regardless of whether he learns how to calculate measures of central tendency and dispersion, he should know what these figures mean when they appear in a report. He should know some of the pitfalls in the use of the statistical method, such as inaccurate and misleading definitions and items, so that he will recognize such inaccuracies when he sees them. He should know the sources of data on social problems and should have at least a speaking acquaintance with the census reports as the most comprehensive survey of social data.

The items listed above might be considered as the minimum information which the case worker should have regarding the research method. This assumes that no extensive research project is required of the student in order to receive his degree in social work. The emphasis in this course would follow what appears to be the present trend—that of substituting more field work for extensive research.

But case workers often become supervisors and administrators, and it is then that the minimum requirements prove inadequate. The administrator who will have a part in the formulation of policy must see not only the problems of the individual case but also the common problems of the group. He must know how to write a report as well as how to read one. If he is to use research he must know enough about research methods to realize what data can be relied upon. Perhaps, then, for case workers who will become administrators, more knowledge of the research method should be required than the minimum previously described.

Now we turn to the researcher. What sort of training should he bring to the job? At the present time most of the persons heading

research divisions in state welfare agencies have been trained in other fields. Undoubtedly, this is one of the greatest gaps between research and administration.

The point of view is extremely important in social research. A simple table containing the number of recipients of assistance and the amount of assistance granted may represent a fiscal problem to a person whose background is in finance. To the person trained in economics this same table may mean dislocations in the labor market. A third person whose background is social work may see the table as an expression of human need. All three are right, but in all probability the gap between the third person and an administrator in a social agency would be smallest.

There are always too many unknown factors in social data. Facts serve as a basis for judgment rather than as proof of cause and effect. For this reason it seems essential that researchers in welfare problems should have social work as the major part of their basic training.

The social work training needed by persons who will do research would seem to be somewhat different from that needed by persons who intend to do case work. The most important revision in curriculum would seem to be in the amount of field work required. Some field work is essential, I believe, to an understanding of social problems, but this might be kept at a minimum in order to allow more time for perusal of courses in labor problems, economics, finance, accounting, and other related subjects. These subjects form important auxiliaries to social work as a background for research in public welfare problems, because social work exists in an economic system and not in a vacuum apart from the system.

Two courses in statistics would appear to be sufficient for the researcher in a welfare agency. Simple methods of presentation and analysis are more effective with administrators. The researcher needs to know more about what constitutes good items in a report or a schedule than about multiple correlations. In addition to his courses, he should do an acceptable piece of research involving the collection of original data.

Needless to say, not many persons with the foregoing training are available today. Recently examinations for the position of chief of

the Division of Research and Statistics were announced in two neighboring states. In one state only two candidates met the entrance requirements, and in the other state, where residence was not required, only four candidates were eligible to take the examination. Salaries are comparable with those paid to other administrative positions in the agencies involved. The two instances cited are, I believe, more typical than atypical.

What can we do—today—to narrow the gap between social service administration and research? We can, through the schools, teach case workers and administrators that there is a place for the research method in dealing with welfare problems. The schools must also find persons among their students who have a "flair for research" and give them proper training to carry on the job. In the meantime, persons already on the job must be taught to see one another's points of view so that all the facts may be arrayed in reaching decisions on the problems of social welfare. One of the challenges in the field of public assistance administration is this gap of which I speak and its need to be narrowed.[2]

REGIONAL OFFICE
SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD
BUREAU OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE
MINNEAPOLIS

[2] The opinions expressed in this article are those of the author and do not represent the official views of the Social Security Board.

"WORK OR MAINTENANCE": A FEDERAL PROGRAM FOR THE UNEMPLOYED[1]

EDITH ABBOTT

IN THIS paper I have tried to state again this year—as I tried, I am afraid very unsuccessfully, to state at this time last year[2]—some of the basic questions regarding our obligations—our responsibilities—as social workers to that great army of the unemployed whom we call our clients.

The size of this army is, as usual, a somewhat controversial question—probably including something like six to seven and a half million—depending upon whether you use estimates like those of the conservative National Industrial Conference Board, of the American Federation of Labor, or of the C.I.O. While any of these recent estimates is considerably below that of the ten million we had in the winter months a year ago, it is clear that seven and a half, or even six million, is still a very large number, and, if you count not only the unemployed but their dependents, you have a wageless group of between twenty-five and thirty million men, women, and children shut out from participation in the democratic way of life.

We have heard many times in the past few months about the "four freedoms" that we are to maintain for all the peoples on the globe. But what kind of freedom do men have when they are without work and have no means of livelihood for their families? Is this freedom from want? Or freedom from fear? Clearly, we shall not have these two freedoms in our own democracy until we have found some way of destroying this calamitous recurring tragedy of unemployment and all the misery that follows in its wake. We spend a great deal of time planning to get the funds for unemployment relief, discussing methods of efficient relief administration, of training relief workers and relief supervisors, and all the rest of it. But what I want to urge for your consideration is something more than unemploy-

[1] A paper read at the National Conference of Social Work, June 5, 1941.

[2] See this *Review*, XIV (September, 1940), 438–52.

ment relief—it is *unemployment prevention.* This is the high obligation of our democracy; and, until we can stop these overwhelming recurring tidal waves of unemployment, we shall not have "freedom from fear and freedom from want" for our own people.

After a prolonged depression period, millions of people have been dispossessed and disinherited, and now, while this decade of suffering is still a part of our recent experience and still clear in our memories, is the time when we must plan never again to let this catastrophe fall upon the working people of this country.

We are agreed, I think, that unemployment is a national question and that proper provision for the unemployed is a national responsibility. The placing of this responsibility squarely before Congress was the so-called New Deal policy in 1935, and Congress has searched for different methods of dealing with this question.

WHAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS DONE FOR THE UNEMPLOYED

Out of these dark and bitter depression years we have won some gains that must not be lost—some federal programs for the unemployed:

1. A better public federal-state employment service
2. Unemployment compensation
3. W.P.A. or a work program for the needy unemployed

But let me emphasize this point:

The employment services *have not prevented* unemployment; unemployment compensation *does not prevent* unemployment; and W.P.A. *does not prevent* unemployment. And then how adequate and how permanent are these programs?

First, the federal-state employment service will be permanent—and will gradually be improved. But it is still so unsatisfactory that relief administrators require their employable clients to make the old weary rounds from factory to factory and come back with signed cards to prove—what everybody knows—that they are willing to work and unable to get work. These unemployed clients of ours are cared for on very inadequate relief, or no relief; they are told they must walk the streets and look hopefully for jobs that do not exist; and they are temporarily "purged" from the relief rolls to make sure

that they keep up the hunt for jobs that the Employment Service cannot find for them.

Second, there is unemployment compensation, and you have heard many times that this is a first line of defense. But it is *not* a first line of defense against *unemployment.* It is only a first line to ward off some of the miseries that *follow unemployment*—that is, it helps to provide for the *victims of unemployment,* instead of preventing unemployment. And how adequate is this first line of defense?

The very useful article by Professor Haber of Michigan in the June number of this *Review* presents a convenient summary of some of the limitations of unemployment compensation. In the first place, there are the low average benefits, sometimes less than $5.00 a week—and the limitations of coverage, varying, of course, from state to state, with very small percentages covered in some states, with, for example, only 15 per cent of the gainful workers in North Dakota covered by the unemployment compensation system. Professor Haber finally comes to the conclusion that "coverage under employment compensation is illusory for a substantial proportion of wage-earners."

There are other limitations, such as the effort to limit benefit payments to regularly employed workers, which has led to the earnings eligibility requirements. At least 15 per cent of the supposedly covered workers in 1938 could not have qualified for benefits on the basis of their nominal earnings; and then there are strange inequities as between the different state laws and the varying methods of state administration, with average weekly benefits varying widely and very low average benefits in many states.

The gains we have made must not be minimized, for they are very great gains, and the system will very certainly be improved and extended. But for my present purpose the important point about the article by Professor Haber is that he has come to the thoughtful conclusion that the sure way to solve the present inequities is "by the establishment of a national system of unemployment compensation," and he recommends that the present federal-state system should be a completely federal system. A national system, says Professor Haber, would permit uniform benefit standards in relation to cost of living throughout the country, "a more adequate benefit sys-

tem in all respects, a shorter waiting period, a higher weekly amount related to family needs, and a longer duration of benefit."

The last five years, says Professor Haber, have been marked by an almost ceaseless conflict between the agencies at the two levels of government. The federal-state system, he says, has "not measured up to expectations," and he points to the fact that a sober analysis of the probabilities of achieving the necessary amendments in the different states leads to the conclusion that *only a single national system can bring about this objective.*

Many social workers do not agree with me about the importance of a federal system of unemployment assistance, but I warn them that they will find it difficult not to agree with William Haber about this plan for a federal system for unemployment compensation.

But let us leave the possible nationalization of employment security and go on to the third gain we have made in the provision of a work program for the needy unemployed.

W.P.A. has reached our relief clients more directly and more adequately than the other services. But it has also been less permanent —an uncertain emergency service which in recent years has cared for only about one-half or less than one-half of the men and women who were eligible for this program.

Unlike the first two programs, W.P.A. has been throughout its history federally administered and federally financed. This great program has been of untold service to our clients. It is now a proved method of saving the unemployed from extreme penury, from despairing appeals for help, and from the humiliation and degradation of idleness on relief. And we must now use every resource that social work can offer to protect and make permanent this great program which we have wrung from the hard years of the depression and which is now slipping away from us.

The present questions about W.P.A. are (1) its inadequacy due to limited appropriations and (2) its temporary character.

The President's promise of 1935, when he said he would take *all of the needy unemployed* off the relief rolls, has never been fulfilled. How far short the federal program has come from doing that and how inadequate recent appropriations have been are well known to social workers. As of the present time (June, 1941), about half of the un-

employed have been people in need—that is, roughly between three and three and a half million men and women workers, and only half or less than half of them were on W.P.A. The story of the other one and a half or two million needy unemployed who could not get on W.P.A. is also well known to you. Some of them were getting inadequate relief, and they were hungry, and their wives and children were hungry, and they were living in attics and basements and in crowded, miserable homes. And then there have been all the hundreds of thousands—millions, if you count the dependent mothers and children—who live in the states and counties that have refused to help the so-called employables. And every social worker knows the kind of existence they have had—eating out of garbage cans, burning their bits of furniture for fuel, their children staying home from school because they have not had decent shoes and decent clothes to wear, and all the rest of the sorry story. And the recent answer of the Administration to these unhappy people came in the President's request for the very inadequate sum of only $875,000,000 for W.P.A. for 1941–42, which will leave more of these unfortunate people in want, more of them living in the fear that comes with want, and it will cut down the development of those services that have been so invaluable in very large numbers of poor homes—the nursery schools, the housekeeping service, and the school lunches. The number on W.P.A. will be reduced to only 1,300,000 by the end of June, and after July 1 it will come down to about a million.

DEFENSE INDUSTRIES

There are those who think the so-called "defense program" is going to employ all the unemployed. They think that Social Security will be established at long last and unemployment abolished by sending men to the munitions industries, to camp construction, and to the armed forces of the nation to prepare for service in the air, on the seas, and everywhere on land from the icy reaches of the North to the desert sands.

But look at all this carefully. Most of the W.P.A. workers are not of the ages for army service, and about 40 per cent are in poor physical condition, not fit for work in the defense industries. Some could be made fit by proper medical care and treatment, but you

know that W.P.A. cannot give them such treatment, nor can any other agency of our government.

An excellent editorial in the *New Republic* early in June said with regard to W.P.A. and defense: "Since the savings of most of these people on W.P.A. are exhausted, since they are probably older, more discouraged, longer undernourished, and more thoroughly sifted by private employers and found wanting," fewer of them will be eligible for the new industrial development under the so-called defense program.

Another point is that defense contracts are not distributed in the places where the need for W.P.A. has been most acute. A recent report showed that "twenty industrial areas had received 73 per cent of defense funds based upon present defense orders. Only 19 per cent of our W.P.A. employment is in these centers. In other words, those areas of the country which have received only one-fourth of the defense awards have about four-fifths of the W.P.A. employment."

The editorial in the *New Republic* summarizes the situation by saying that the "maldistribution of defense industries has left the unemployment situation extremely critical in certain localities. It will not be possible to withdraw from the most-favored regions enough money to take care of the least favored."

I was recently out in my home state of Nebraska and in some of the other states of the plains, and if you have both a lantern and a magnifying glass you cannot find any signs of W.P.A. being made unnecessary by defense contracts in those states. Let us make no mistake about it; we shall still need the work program for our clients—even if we drift into a long-continued war.

The W.P.A. organization is not perfect. After five and a half years, it still has some very difficult problems to face and solve. But shall we let it be destroyed or ask to have the period of growth and development continue? The editorial in the *New Republic* said that this great work program has three things to offer—the W.P.A. has provided and can provide

(1) organization, (2) a civilian labor force, (3) morale. The W.P.A. has not only been the largest employer of labor but one of the most efficient. It has taken broken, dispirited men and with them it has built some of the great bridges, parks and hospitals of the world. It has gone through the wildest fluctuations in

appropriations and labor force in an orderly manner. It has operated through the whole pyramid of political pressures and come off with dignity and a clean shirt. It has worked not only in the glare but in the heat of publicity in the most adverse circumstances, and its scandals have been little ones and its crimes somewhat below ordinary incidence. Such an organization must not be crippled. Instead, it must be put to work building the morale and the bridges, highways and airports we need for the national defense.

During these years we have had neither equity nor justice for the unemployed, and we have let them carry the heavy burdens of this depression. We have tried to rescue them from evictions, from starvation, from the tragic consequences of being homeless, helpless, and hopeless. And what we must do is to say, "Never again!"

> Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates and men decay.

THE HOME FRONT

But social workers have duties and responsibilities for the home front. We are dedicated to the war against unemployment and destitution here on the first line of defense. And here is the real issue, the real controversy. As an abstract proposition, we, as social workers, again piously resolved in the recent delegate conference of our American Association of Social Workers in Philadelphia that workingmen in our democracy had a "right to work," that there is a public responsibility for finding a job or providing a job for the man who is able and willing to work but who can find no job and for whom the Employment Service can find no job.

But we know that there is no hope that this will be done promptly. We know that neither the federal government, nor the state governments, nor any other governmental authorities are really going to employ *all* of the unemployed without a means test in any period which we can now foresee. And as social workers we have a special responsibility for the needy unemployed, and surely we can agree that *the needy unemployed should be given work.* But here we are face to face with the plans for the next fiscal year, when the President's proposed appropriation for W.P.A. will provide for barely one-third of the needy unemployed, and the worst of this is that fewer than before will be able to get relief, for relief appropriations are being ruthlessly threatened.

Now I come to my major proposal, which is that we urge that the federal government must take the responsibility for, must face and deal with, the total problem of unemployment and must be further charged with the total responsibility of caring for the victims of unemployment. I am talking of today and tomorrow, but I am also talking of the long future. I repeat: the entire responsibility for the unemployed and all the programs for the unemployed must be in federal hands so that the whole problem of unemployment can be dealt with as a major concern of the national government. In addition to the employment services and unemployment compensation

1. We need a work program
2. We need a program of planned orderly migration
3. We need a training and a retraining program, and
4. We need an unemployment assistance program for the needy unemployed so that the federal government will be responsible for *work or maintenance* for this group, and so that our unemployed workers will be emancipated from the humiliation of going on the general relief rolls.

I am not asking that this should be done at once, but I stand squarely for doing part of it today and tomorrow—that part is that the federal government assume immediately complete responsibility at federal expense and through federal agencies for *work or maintenance* for the needy unemployed—for work or for unemployment assistance given by a federal agency. That is, I come back to the main thesis, which is that the unemployed must be a federal responsibility and that, for those who cannot be given work, some other provision must be made by the federal government. Only in this way, *only by placing the total problem of unemployment in federal hands*, can our great objective be attained, and that objective is that unemployment shall be abolished and the wageless worker shall cease to exist in this democracy.

Is there any other alternative? You all know that there is only one, and I am afraid that many of you, probably most of you, believe that this is a good one. The A.A.S.W. at the delegate conference voted down our Chicago proposal and accepted the old plan that the federal government provide grants-in-aid to let the states provide a

better relief program. Chicago objects to placing the unemployed on any general relief program. We look forward to a time when relief can be forever abolished.

And let me add this word—not all the king's horses and all the king's men, nor all the Security Board nor our able Conference president, who administers the Public Assistance Bureau, can bring order out of the relief chaos which exists in this democracy of ours today.

THE CHAOS OF RELIEF—TODAY

Part of this chaos is familiar to all of you in the difficulties about state and local settlement and the hardships which all relief administrators are required by law to inflict upon migratory laborers.

We all owe a great debt to Congressman Tolan and his committee—and the eleven volumes of testimony and the valuable report they have recently issued are what we have been wanting for ten long years. The Tolan Committee tells us that "a body of Stateless people is appearing, existing in a limbo of lost settlement rights and forced to migrate in search of elusive employment opportunities. The Committee has observed that the great majority of these people are . . . . in search of a job and not a handout." To quote the Tolan Committee again:

> The basic lesson is that whereas the Founding Fathers had learned before 1789 that a free flow of commerce between the States was an indispensable element in the founding of a Federal Union, the 48 States are today engaged in erecting new and higher barriers against the interstate flow of the American people. These barriers are intended to protect each State from assuming the burden of supporting that varying proportion of moving people who may need public assistance. The construction of these barriers actually works to foster the situation it is intended to correct. Persons with initiative who through circumstances beyond their own control have fallen on relief in one State are afraid to leave such assistance in search of employment elsewhere for fear of losing their settlement rights.

One of the great merits of this plan I am advocating of placing total responsibility for the unemployed on the federal government is that we can then take proper care of migratory labor. I tried to explain this plan to the Tolan Committee. I urged them to ask for the care of migratory laborers as unemployed men and not to provide for them by means of a grant-in-aid for general relief. But the Tolan

Committee was like the delegate conference of the A.A.S.W.—they prefer relief! It seems less complicated! But this preference is easier for me to accept from the Tolan Committee because, of course, they have never known at first hand how bad relief is, while every social worker knows that every public relief office is a hopeless center of misery and despair.

A GRANT-IN-AID FOR GENERAL RELIEF IS NOT THE ANSWER

Let us not think we can wave a magic wand by a new grant-in-aid for general relief, and suddenly bring about a system of equity and justice for the disinherited people of our democracy.

The relief situation is indescribably confused from coast to coast. Perhaps I should not use the term "indescribably" since there is an excellent description, which I am sure many of you will have studied carefully, in an article in the March number of that invaluable official magazine, the *Social Security Bulletin*. This article shows that, in spite of the gains which we hoped and dreamed of making under F.E.R.A., we still have confusion worse confounded in the state relief programs. There are more than ten thousand local governmental units throughout the country administering these programs. Many of these local administrative units "were authorized to determine the existence and extent of need without supervision by a state agency. A few of the local units were branch offices of state agencies; some were county welfare departments or county governing bodies. The great majority, however, were minor civil divisions—cities, villages, and towns."

Who are the administrators in these ten thousand local relief authorities? You all know them. They are good substantial average men, very rarely women. They have been brought up on the old theory that relief is a disgrace, that men can find work if they try, that there is not money enough to do more than give them a handout anyway, and that the old hip pocket method of keeping relief records is good enough for anyone.

If anyone thinks, hopes, or believes that federal grants-in-aid can bring order out of our relief chaos in any reasonably near future, I can only call that person a dreamer of dreams. To get even reasonable order out of this disorder means an endless series of state legisla-

tive sessions, most of them special sessions, and a prolonged struggle with local officials who are determined to go on with the present system.

The situation is made quite clear in this recent valuable official study:

> During 1940, persons in need of general relief in the United States received assistance which varied greatly in kind and adequacy, depending upon the State and even the locality in which they sought aid. The diversity in the type and amount of care provided was the inevitable result of the highly decentralized system, under which general relief is administered. . . . . State participation in financing or administering general relief is extremely limited or non-existent in many States. During 1940, in one-fourth of the States the State government provided no financial support, and in several others the extent of financial participation was very small.

THE SPECIAL PROBLEM OF THE UNEMPLOYED

I am opposed to handing the unemployed over to township, county, municipal, and mixed state agencies that deal with relief, not only because of the inadequacies of the present system but because this defeats the preventive constructive work that we should have in mind for the unemployed, who should be kept fit for work or be made fit for work. They should be the responsibility of some authority that is trying to deal with them as unemployed men and that must try to find some way to get them to work again.

A new grant-in-aid for general relief is no answer to this problem. It will not change the antiquated state poor laws and the state settlement laws and the eighteenth-century methods of poor-law administration except after a prolonged series of struggles. We are told that the federal authority with grants-in-aid for relief will reform this. But can they? And how soon? We must get forty-eight different state legislatures to pass new laws or amend very complicated and deep-rooted old poor laws in order to get a measurably satisfactory relief system. It is all very well to talk about bribing the states by grants-in-aid to amend the settlement laws, but forty-eight different state legislatures must be willing to act in the face of determined opposition by thousands of determined local officials.

Forty-three state legislatures have been meeting this year, and only eight are scheduled to meet next year in regular session. The

other forty will not meet again next year unless they are called in special session. I am glad to have the National Conference or the A.A.S.W. or any other influential group tackle this job, but they will not find success around any corner that is now in sight. Getting forty legislatures in special session to amend the settlement laws is an undertaking that offers as little hope of immediate success as any that the most impracticable visionary ever suggested.

I want to make it perfectly clear that I am not opposing a grant-in-aid for general relief, but I do want to say that this is not the proper method of dealing with the unemployed if you are trying to deal with this group in a constructive way and that you have a big job ahead in reforming the state laws and the state administrations even after you get a grant-in-aid for general relief.

What I want to persuade you to consider is the long-time hopeful objective of gradually lifting people out of that pool of despair that we call relief. And I want you to consolidate gains already made instead of letting them slip away.

We have lifted various groups out of the relief pool. Our nineteenth-century leaders took out the insane and the feeble-minded; we have taken out the injured workmen by means of workmen's compensation laws, we have taken out the old age group, we have taken out dependent children, and we have taken out the blind. We should now take out this great army of the unemployed who have paid the heaviest costs and borne with courage the greatest suffering of all who have known losses and deprivations in this ghastly depression decade.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

With all the gains that we have made, with all the added security that has been given to our clients during this decade of tragedy, our great objective, which is the abolition of unemployment, is still only a hazy mirage on a very distant horizon. Do not let a faint hope of a distant victory that comes with some lessening of unemployment destroy the gains we have made. With all our gains the problem has remained unsolvable, and infinite patience, courage, and faith will be needed for a long time to come before any perfect solution can be found.

But the solution will be found only by concentrating responsibility where it belongs—by placing it in the hands and on the shoulders of a federal agency. This is a measure of preparedness. It is also a measure of reconstruction.

I know that many social workers do not agree with me. I was told by the A.A.S.W. that I was a prophet without honor in my own group. But I remain unshaken in my conviction that we shall have neither justice nor equity for the unemployed until we turn this whole problem over to the federal government and end the divided responsibility from which our clients have suffered so cruelly.

One of the fruits of victory that will go to all the combatants in the present titanic struggle in which the world is lost will be a new overwhelming tidal wave of unemployment. And this is the wave of the future that we can see only too clearly, and it is not beyond hope that barriers can be constructed against it, that we shall make ready and be prepared to protect our workingmen from the ghastly consequences of this clearly foreseen disaster.

University of Chicago

BRITAIN ABOLISHES THE HOUSEHOLD MEANS TEST[1]

RONALD DAVISON

READERS of this *Review* have been told from time to time of the new national relief service which we in England have been steadily evolving since 1934 under the big umbrella of the Assistance Board. At the time of its birth, this government department was known as the "Unemployment Assistance Board," but, since the war, a shorter name and a wider purpose have been given to it. There is no exact parallel to it in the American scene; but, if it existed in your country, it might be known as the "Federal Board of Public Welfare," having the duty of relieving monetary poverty of various kinds, which are not wholly met or not met at all by the statutory benefits payable under the compulsory insurances for sickness, unemployment, and old age.

Our Assistance Board is not a poor law body, but it does a poor law job, having taken over its main functions from the local poor law authorities. Sooner or later the Board, with its national status and

[1] [*Editorial note.*—There have been several important gains on the "home front" in Britain in spite of the war. One of these is the change which was promised by the present British government on November 7, 1940, and which was finally approved by act of Parliament, March 26, 1941, which changed the household means test to a personal means test for the men and women who are now given special assistance—not by the local poor relief authorities but by the central (national) government under the so-called Assistance Board. Great Britain has never had "family responsibility" in the American sense for her noncontributory old age pensions, which have come from the central government and in which the local authorities have not shared, except for the supplementing of the pensions in cases of special hardship. This supplementing was in the hands of local poor law authorities until last year. A forward step was taken in March, 1940, when the supplementing of the noncontributory pensions and the insurance benefits was placed in the hands of the central government's Unemployment Assistance Board, which has not infrequently been referred to in this *Review*, and at the same time the name of the Unemployment Assistance Board was changed to the Assistance Board. However, the old objectionable household means test continued to be used by the Board. Then on November 7, 1940, came the promise made by the wartime government of the abolition of the household means test for those who had been emancipated from the poor relief authorities and put under the Assistance Board. The account of this important change by the *Review*'s old friend Sir Ronald Davison will be of interest to many of our readers.]

its national finance, will squeeze out of existence the last remnants of our locally administered poverty services; it is a cuckoo in the ancient nest of the English Poor Law.

Many things are being changed in the process, not the least being the traditional British method of assessing the applicants' needs as compared with their existing resources. Hitherto, the test was always applied to the household as a whole, and some account was taken of the financial condition of everybody living in the household group. For years this has been a thorn in the flesh of the British Labour and Liberal parties, and when the new Board took over from the local authorities the grievance was always being aired by the opposition in the House of Commons. Why, they asked, should the earnings and incomes of other persons in the same household as the applicant for relief be taken into account in assessing his monetary needs? Today, in the midst of war, this Household Means Test is abolished; it is part of the price conceded to labor for participation in a democratic coalition government. A "personal" means test is now to be the limit of the Board's discretionary action, and party controversy on this subject should at last fall silent. But there is more behind this important change than mere politics. Probably a similar trend of policy will often follow when any local relief service is centralized and nationalized. Would it be a rash generalization to say that the larger the authority and its far-flung staffs, the smaller will tend to be the range of personal circumstance within which the discretionary function of subordinate officials will be exercised?

Now for an explanation of the precise nature of this evolutionary change. From the establishment of our Elizabethan Poor Law until now the need of applicants for relief has been assessed on the whole income of their household. Who was or was not a member of the home group might be variously determined in border-line cases, but there was no doubt that fathers must be assessed for a contribution to the support of applicant sons and daughters or vice versa. Often enough this was not unfair and was not resented; but of late years the notion of the family household as an economic unit has been called in question, largely as the result of many genuine hard cases in the bad years 1931–36. The test naturally required a cross-examination of all earners, and it was not pleasant when an increase of income

earned by a young member of a family was the signal for reduced relief to the unemployed parent. Whether, by employing a staff of trained social workers and trusting to the freer use of their discretion, the Assistance Board might have avoided such manifold causes of bitterness is now an academic question. The Household Means Test is dead. The New Regulations of the Assistance Board, which have been approved by Parliament, show how the Personal Means Test will be applied among unemployed applicants and among those old age pensioners who cannot live decently on their statutory pensions. It is a fairly complicated business. The resources of a householder applicant and his wife will still be reckoned together and, if there are young dependents with very small earnings—not enough to keep them, of course, for then they would not be dependents—then these resources will be taken into account in calculating the needs of the applicant himself and his dependents. The term "household" is not defined in the new Determination of Needs Act, but the Board's instructions to their officials are that no inmate of a house who is paying a reasonable sum for a separate room or rooms and making his own arrangements for food (light and fuel are not mentioned) will be treated as a member of the household. Even if he is a close relation, no inquiry will be made into his resources. That is the position when the applicant for relief is the head of the household.

But the applicant may be a son or a daughter or an elderly relative. He may be married and have his own dependents. If so, the assessment of his need, whether married or not, will cover the cost of board and lodging plus an additional amount up to 5 shillings per week (or exceptionally 7 shillings) to enable him to pay a fair share of the total rent of the house. There is, however, a typically British compromise and a variation of the rule when this type of applicant, being without dependents, is the father or mother or son of the householder and the householder is clearly possessed of fairly ample means—say, exceeding £28 .0.0. per month. It will then be "assumed" that the applicant does not have to pay anything for his board and lodging.

It remains to be explained that the contribution to the household expenses which will be expected of a self-supporting earner, able to pay a normal amount for board and lodging, will not be more than 7 shillings per week and may be less. If the earner's income is below

55 shillings per week, the contribution will be assessed at 5 shillings, and should the income be 30 shillings or less, at *2s.6d* per week. An earner with an income of 20 shillings or less will not be regarded as able to make any contribution to the household expenses. All war savings are exempt from the ascertainment of means up to a limit of £375 invested in National Savings Certificates for any one person.

The full importance of these alleviations of the assessment of need will be appreciated only when the Board has to face another wave of widespread unemployment. Probably that will come as a sequel to the war. Meanwhile, many other duties have been added to the Assistance Board which has proved a handy national instrument for coping with some of the social tragedies due to war.

By far the most important of the new functions has been the "prevention and relief of distress due to the war," including grants to poor people whose household goods have been destroyed by Hitler's bombs. The Board has gone to every "blitzed" area to give financial help where needed. Flying squads of relieving officers have been formed; energy and resource have overcome the local dislocation caused by enemy action. Sometimes within a few hours the measure has been taken of the losses incurred and of the number of people requiring relief. The first-aid provision did not always give time for investigation of exact individual circumstances, but the first consideration was to give all the help needed and to enable the sufferers to carry on. Furniture, clothing, the tools of a man's trade—all these might have to be provided at the shortest notice. Britain has found that it is of great psychological value that help should be at hand at once. Without doubt, the morale of the people subjected to the enemy's most ruthless bombing has been remarkably sustained by the prompt action of the Board in giving to forlorn and anxious folk the means of re-establishing their homes. In more than one provincial city a quarter of a million pounds has been spent in a few days, and in London there are several boroughs where the relief paid out runs into six figures.

These emergency functions will pass away with the war, but, when peace comes again, the alleviation of the means test described in this article will remain as a permanent memorial to the social legislation passed in wartime.

LONDON, ENGLAND

[*Editorial note.*—Some of our readers will be interested in following up Sir Ronald Davison's interesting comment on the household means test by examining the White Paper, Cmd. 6247, *Determination of Needs Bill: Memorandum by the Assistance Board*, presented to Parliament January, 1941, and also the *Parliamentary Debates*. For their convenience we add here some extracts from the House of Commons *Debates*, February 13, 1941, on the "Needs Bill." These extracts are from speeches of members who thought the proposed act did not go far enough. The objections came chiefly from those who objected that some part of the old household means test remained and from others who objected that it applied only to the categories under the Assistance Board and not to the poor law cases. All this discussion is interesting in view of our struggle in America over family responsibility, which of course goes beyond the household means test to a family means test. The British, even in wartime, have in this respect liberalized their assistance grants far beyond our American policies of the present time.

The following brief extracts are from *Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons* (Vol. CCCLXVIII, cols. 1557–58, 1562–67, 1575, 1595–98, 1599–1602):

MR. PETHICK-LAWRENCE: . . . . I will not disguise from the House the fact that these proposals are not 100 per cent of what has been asked. . . . .This Bill constitutes a revolutionary change in the principles which have been adopted for a long time, dating right back to the days of Queen Elizabeth. It is because it shifts in general and in the main the obligation to look after those who are old or out of work from the family and the household to the community as a whole. It marks the recognition that today unemployment has ceased to be a private affair and is the public concern of the State as a whole. The aggregation of the household means, which existed before, is abolished in this Bill, and the household means test itself, as a principle, is gone. It is quite true that there are some reservations which cause us some disquiet, but the Bill goes a very long way, if not the whole way, to remove the grievances which were so very widely felt, and which in a vast number of cases have been the cause of intensive bitterness and intensive sorrow. . . . .

MR. GRAHAM WHITE: . . . . Since 1934 the means test has occupied more Parliamentary time and discussion and has caused greater bitterness and dissension than any other domestic issue. . . . . It was not merely the individual hardship, it was not merely the inquisition, which were the cause of the bitterness. It was not merely the fact that those who had been most frugal and saving and the most exemplary in the conduct of their affairs suffered most, while those who were most extravagant got better terms from the State. . . . . The household means test introduced an entirely new element, and in far too many cases it created bitter dissension in the household and broke up far more homes than is generally recognised. These are the reasons why the means test has provoked so

much controversy. It has been a living sore in the social life of this country. One is glad to notice that some of the sources of aggravation and distress will disappear under this Bill. Some remain in a modified form. One of the things which led us to oppose the means test was that there was no sanction behind the carrying-out of the assessment. In cases where an assessment was made of individual members of a household and it was carried out, well and good, but if the assessment was carried out grudgingly or if it was not carried out at all, there was no sanction which could compel it to be carried out. The sole result of the means test in cases such as this was to make it certain that where there was need, that need remained in its most aggravated form. . . . .

I am glad to see that the final humiliation of many old and honourable people will disappear. . . . .

The Bill does not in fact and in terms abolish the household means test, but . . . . without any question at all this Bill brings benefits to a number of people. . . . . There were a million people who benefited under the Supplementary Pensions Act and 340,000 persons who did not receive any supplementary pension under that Act. We do not know how many of those 340,000 will now benefit, but at any rate a considerable number will, and in particular benefits will be derived in those cases where an old age pensioner is dependent upon the earnings of a single child. So often in life we find that it is the only daughter of the family who sacrifices herself, her prospects of marriage and everything else. Out of feelings of loyalty and filial affection only daughters have denied themselves the satisfactions of life in order to carry out their obligations. Of those 340,000 cases there are many which will benefit. . . . .

[However,] the Bill accentuates an anomaly in the existing social services of the country, which is the difference in treatment of a large section of our people, in regard to the means test. I think everybody welcomes the changes that have been made in the rules regarding old age pensioners and applicants for relief on account of unemployment, but what about applicants for Poor Law relief? Men and women who have been unemployed for a few years and who were insured, are entitled to relief, according to the Bill, but what about individuals who have been working for themselves all their lives and who have carried on that work in a variety of useful and proper ways? . . . .

MR. GALLACHER: . . . . I am for the complete abolition of the means test, but many Members . . . . took the stand in the General Election of being against a household means test, and for a personal means test. Theirs was a hybrid position, somewhere between a household means test and a personal means test, and, like all hybrids, it will be productive of very little, if anything, of great value.

I also have had long association with old age pensioners. They want a general flat rate, because they want to get rid of the means test. This proposal does not do away with the means test. The thrifty have been penalised. . . . . .

The whole question of the means test is one that we should face in its entirety. Labour leaders who are in this House and who are in the Government

have pledged themselves time and again to the complete abolition of the means test, and I say that the Government should be forced to take back this Bill and bring in a Measure that will completely abolish the family means test altogether. Only the personal position of the applicant ought to be taken into consideration . . . . .

MR. ELLIS SMITH: . . . . Does this Bill implement the promise made by the Prime Minister on November 6? I have a copy of the *Official Report* before me and it shows that the Prime Minister said: "The test will become one of personal need." . . . . The day after the Prime Minister made his statement every leader-writer . . . . in this country wrote: "This means the abolition of the household means test." During the week end many old age pensioners and unemployed people came to me saying, with high glee, "At last this means the abolition of the household means test." . . . . On November 7, 1940, the *Times* said: "The household means test is to be abolished and the personal means test will take its place. The effect of it is that the household means test will soon be a thing of the past." Does this Bill . . . . implement the promise made by the Prime Minister? It is true that the sting has been taken out of the household means test, but many of its anomalies will be perpetuated and new anomalies will be created. . . . .

We fought the last General Election on the question of the means test. Since those days we have moved a long way. We are now prepared to accept a personal means test. . . . . But this Bill does not implement the promise that was made on both sides at the last General Election. We say that, if we are living in a state of real democracy, there should be, together with a successful prosecution of the war, a simultaneous development of the social services. . . . .

The Labour party said in 1935: "The Government have robbed the unemployed of benefit and subjected them to a harsh and cruel household means test. The Labour party will sweep away the humiliating means test." The Liberal party said in 1935: "The Liberal party condemns the means test Regulations. It considers that to treat the household as a unit is wrong." The National Government said: "The question is not whether there should be a means test, but what that test should be." Nearly every supporter of the National Government in that General Election interpreted that election manifesto as meaning the abolition of the household means test. Scores and scores of candidates in the last General Election were able to keep our [Labour party] men out of the House of Commons because on the election platforms they interpreted that National Government manifesto as meaning the abolition of the household means test. I have spoken in many by-elections since 1935, and in all of them National Government spokesmen have said that they now stand for the abolition of the household means test. . . . . .

MR. ANEURIN BEVAN: . . . . This matter falls into two separate parts. First, the honor of the British Labour party is involved in it. There is no single political issue upon which we have pledged ourselves so deeply as this matter of the household means test. . . . .

We could start with a perfectly simple principle in this Bill. It is that no resources shall be taken into account except the resources of the applicant and those dependent upon him. . . . . When the system of the relief of the poor was started under Elizabeth the family was the basis because it was the unit of society. It was a purely objective and tangible reality which formed the basis of administration, and it remained for centuries until a few years ago. When the industrial revolution came and the family was dispersed, the family ceased to be a real basis for the administration of assistance. Every board of guardians then employed officers to chase relatives of applicants all over Great Britain in order to get them to contribute half-crowns to their families' maintenance. The family thus became an unreal thing.

Then the Unemployment Assistance Board had to give up the family and take the household. But there is no such thing as the household as a unit. It is too intangible, too flexible, too fluid, too ambiguous a unit as a basis. As has been pointed out, the Bill does not deal with the worst injustice of all, the fact that because a son continues to live with his parents he is subject to a tax from which a far better-off son who does not live with the parent is exempt. In fact, we still make it profitable to break up the family, still make it advantageous to the son to leave home.

The point of view of the local administrators who objected that the surviving poor law administration was not included in this change has been explained in some detail in a series of leading articles in the British *Public Assistance Journal and Health and Hospital Review*. We quote only one of the statements from this *Journal*, which, after the passage of the Means Test Amendment expressed disappointment that Parliament had not been able "to bring relief practice into line with that laid down for the Assistance Board." The arguments made, unsuccessfully, in England are not unlike those we have heard in this country against allowing one category of assistance to be made superior to another, in spite of the fact that this is the usual way of making progress. However, this point of view, whether it is right or wrong, must be faced, and the following extract from the *Journal* may be of interest. The editor of the *Public Assistance Journal*[2] pointed out that if the poor law policy had also been changed,

the benefits would have been great. Not only would an unjustifiable distinction between two closely allied services have been removed, but the forces now at work on the development of the Public Assistance Service on more comprehensive social service lines would have been given freer play and their impetus increased. The Service would have been able to reorientate its policy in a still more realistic way to the needs of modern social conditions. If it be argued that,

[2] April 11, 1941, p. 229.

however simple the means might be, the result would be a fundamental change in social service administration, such as should be avoided in a period of crisis and postponed for consideration in quieter times, the reply is obvious. Sweeping changes in social administration have already been made during the war. For instance, the Determination of Needs Act itself represents one such change and the Old Age and Widows' Pensions Act another. Furthermore, owing to the pressure of conditions arising out of the war, and through the duties directly imposed upon it by the war, the Public Assistance Service has had to assume new responsibilities and the movement within it towards a wider outlook in policy has been accelerated from without.

The fundamental object of the new Determination of Needs Act is to enable the Assistance Board to square its practice with economic and social conditions as they now exist in its relations with applicants for unemployment assistance and for supplementary pensions. In particular, the Act seeks to take a realistic view of the family and family relationships as they exist now after twenty-five years of far-reaching economic and social change. The root of the anomaly produced is that the administration which is most closely and intimately concerned with the family, its structure and its needs, namely the Public Assistance Service, is not permitted to make a similar adjustment. Nor is the anomaly in any way reduced by any real distinction to be drawn between the classes coming under the Board, on the one hand, and the Public Assistance authorities, on the other. In relation to unemployment assistance, the Board are concerned with able-bodied persons and the Public Assistance authorities are not, except in so far as these persons do not satisfy the statutory conditions for assistance from the Board. But in practice able-bodied persons outside the Board's scope, who are moderately numerous in some relief areas, individually present very difficult problems involving personal and family relationships. On the other hand, the classes with which the Public Assistance authorities are mainly concerned, the sick, the infirm, widows not entitled to pension, elderly people not easily employable but not qualified for pension, and similar categories, approximate closely, sometimes almost exactly, to the pensioners who apply to the Board in type of case and of individual need. As the Board's practice settles down in routine, the anomaly will grow still more marked. The special circumstances created by the war, with their effects on family life and cohesion, are likely to increase still further the artificial character of the distinction in treatment drawn by the new statute. The effects of the new legislation upon Public Assistance practice were not adequately brought out in the passage of the Bill through Parliament. It may be that a confused impression arose through the fact that the Bill was not, and could not be, simply a Ministry of Health Bill. If the Ministry of Health had been solely concerned, then the position of relief practice side by side with that prescribed for the Assistance Board under the measure would have been made more clearly apparent.]

NOTES AND COMMENT BY THE EDITOR

SOCIAL WORKERS AND THE RELIEF COLLAPSE IN CALIFORNIA[1]

LAST June, after the California State Legislature adjourned without making any further appropriations for the State Relief Administration, its activity came to an end. The situation in the S.R.A. has for a period of several years been one of grave concern to those who believe in the importance of a welfare program created and administered solely in the interest of the men and women in need of help.

Following the break-up of the F.E.R.A., more than five years ago, the so-called "unemployables," who were no longer to have any federal help, went back to the counties in California, but the "employables" remained under the state administration, with the load fluctuating as W.P.A. went up or down, backward or forward.

For the last three years many legislators, agricultural organizations, and county boards of supervisors have made various attempts to discontinue the S.R.A. and to return all general relief to the counties. However, although it was hoped to do away with state supervision or control, these groups had hoped for continued financial aid to the counties from the state treasury. The S.R.A. had weathered attacks of many kinds from the groups just mentioned, and since the autumn of 1938 the situation has been increasingly critical.

After the last gubernatorial election in November, 1938, friction and difficulty over the S.R.A. had been continuous. There were three camps: (1) the professional social workers who were struggling to maintain adequate standards; (2) the "union" in S.R.A., that is, the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America affiliated with C.I.O., which became very strong after the 1938 election; and (3) the new politicians who came into the picture after their success in the election.

Political appointments were believed to be constantly being made, and the replacement of social workers with political appointees was frequently noted. During the patronage battle the strength of the social work union

[1] The *Review* is indebted to an able social worker who was a field supervisor under the S.R.A., for the material on which this editorial is based. Attention should be called to an interesting article in the *Nation*, CLIII (July 19, 1941), 52–53, on the California relief struggle.

group increased, and this led in turn to renewed attacks upon the agency by the reactionary vested interests. Where previously their accusations had been limited to statements that the intake policies were too liberal, they now brought another charge which the supporters of the agency were not in a position to deny. This charge was that the statutory provisions regarding eligibility for relief were being violated.

The union became particularly strong in the metropolitan counties of Los Angeles, Alameda, and San Francisco, and in the large rural counties of San Joaquin, Kern, and Tulare, where the political situation is dominated by the conservative anti-C.I.O. "Associated Farmers." This powerful group became very antagonistic to the S.R.A. and began a long struggle against the social work union, which was anathema to the conservatives because of the C.I.O. affiliation.

On the issue of the union the S.R.A. staff throughout the state was divided—the majority becoming members of the S.C.M.W.A., and a minority becoming members of the California State Employees Association, an organization comprising state employees of all the departments and generally opposed to trade-unionism. Another minority group remained independent of either organization.

The conflict over the activities of the union, particularly in the rural counties, and the governor's insistence that political appointees be put on the staff led to a bitter statewide attack on the S.R.A. A charge widely publicized was that many persons not in need were being illegally carried on the relief rolls. That is, it was charged that all the rules of eligibility had been so liberalized that a large part of the case load was ineligible, that the pay roll was heavily padded, and that the interests of the Communist party were being furthered by the recognition given the S.C.M.W.A. and the Workers' Alliance. Consequently, in the emergency session of the legislature in 1940, the new strength of the opposition was great enough to have the relief appropriation cut drastically and to have new rules of eligibility written into the law. Eligibility for relief had previously been left to the discretion of the State Relief Administration, but in 1940 the law provided an increase of the residence requirement from one to three years as in the local relief, a forced deduction of all income where previously the client had been allowed to earn one-quarter of his budget, and the placing of a maximum budget of $58 per month on each case regardless of the size of the family.

The legislature also appropriated money for a legislative committee to investigate so-called "subversive activities" in the S.R.A. At that session Assemblyman Sam Yorty, who later became the chairman of the com-

mittee, stated in a public address that there were many Communists in the S.R.A., all of whom were members of the S.C.M.W.A.

The investigations of the Legislative Committee[2] were begun in the rural counties where public opinion obviously was likely to be with the committee, and then later conducted in the metropolitan areas. However, all the "hearings" were conducted along the same lines; they were open to the public and were attended by large numbers of people. The legislative committee to a large extent was assisted unofficially by a few non-union members of the agency who not only disliked the union but also were perhaps hopeful that they might secure better positions themselves. They gave the committee lists of employees to be interrogated. The conduct of the committee must be severely condemned for the manner in which employees (union and non-union) were ridiculed, bullied, and threatened. Often questions and comments which required no reply were entirely irrelevant and were only for the purpose of causing embarrassment.

An issue, however, developed over the question "Are you a communist?" which was asked of all the relief workers. The advice to union members from their leaders and the union counsel was to refuse to answer. Some union members refused to follow this advice or to accept the pressure from their leaders and testified that they were not Communists, while others replied that they refused to testify on advice of counsel (counsel was furnished by the union and was present at the hearings). This last group of employees were soon dismissed upon orders of the committee, were charged with "contempt,"[3] and then were later tried in the police courts of the three rural counties and in Alameda. They were not brought to trial in either San Francisco or Los Angeles, probably because there was less public concern and interest. (Mr. Yorty was running for state senator in Los Angeles County and expected to get much of his support in the rural areas.) The seventeen San Joaquin County workers were uniformly sentenced in Stockton to 360 days in jail and fined $500 each. This was the most severe sentence that could have been given in the state for contempt, and the maximum had seldom if ever been im-

[2] See the *Report of the Assembly Relief Investigating Committee, Pursuant to House Resolutions Nos. 9 and 29, California Legislature, Fifty-third (Extraordinary) Session* (Sacramento, 1940). Pp. 53. This Yorty report is a virulent and shameless attack on the union with charges of "communism" repeated on page after page.

[3] See *Political Code of California*, Part III, Tit. 1, c. 2, art. viii:

"§ 302. *Neglect or refusal to obey subpoena.*—If any witness neglects or refuses to obey such subpoena, or appearing, neglects or refuses to testify, or produce upon reasonable notice any material and proper books, papers or documents in his possession or

posed before. The cases were later appealed to the superior court, where the jail sentences were reduced to 160 days and the fine suspended. Appeals to the appellate court and, later, to the supreme court for a writ of habeas corpus were denied. The governor has been requested to pardon those workers, but no action has yet been taken, and these social workers are still in jail.

There is more to the situation than the legal issue of whether the employees were given a fair trial. What should not be forgotten is the fact that not only were the employees individually on trial in the eyes of the public but so was the agency which was responsible for the welfare of the clients. Many of the social workers believed that some of the union members indicated that their primary interest was in trade-unionism and not social welfare, while others apparently had not clarified their thinking in relation to the responsibility they had for carrying out the policies of the agency as long as they continued to hold positions as agency employees.

It was charged by the committee that many union members deliberately violated the law in respect to the rules of eligibility. This charge generally was believed to be false, but there seems to be evidence that this was true in some places. In Alameda County, for example, it became obvious that there were a large number of cases ineligible for relief, and drastic measures had to be taken because of the threats of the state controller that he might discontinue payments of relief to all cases. After an intensive intake investigation of the entire active case load was made, in accordance with the provisions of the law, only 60 per cent were found to be actually eligible for assistance.[4] A large number of clients did not

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under his control, the Senate or Assembly may by resolution entered on the Journal of the Senate or Assembly, as the case may be, commit him for contempt; provided, however, that if any such contempt be committed before such committee during the session of the Legislature, such committee shall report the contempt to the Senate or Assembly, as the case may be, for such action as may be deemed necessary by the Senate or Assembly.

"§ 304. *Witnesses not to be held to answer criminally: Refusal to testify: Perjury.*—No person sworn and examined before either house of the Legislature, or any committee thereof, can be held to answer criminally or be subject to any penalty or forfeiture for any fact or act touching which he is required to testify; nor is any statement made or paper produced by any such witness competent evidence in any criminal proceeding against such witness; nor can such witness refuse to testify to any fact or to produce any paper touching which he is examined for the reason that his testimony or the production of such paper may tend to disgrace him or render him infamous."

[4] The ineligibility of these clients was due to a variety of reasons: the income exceeded the budget; employment had been secured; residence had not been verified; illegal entry into the United States subsequent to July 1, 1924; and the fact that more than one case record was used for members in the same family group.

re-apply for aid. In accordance with state policy it was necessary to file restitution orders on hundreds of cases because of overpayments; this of course caused much trouble and hardship for the clients, the majority of whom were not aware of the fact that they were ineligible for relief. And it was extremely unfortunate that the state controller gave wide publicity to the large number of restitution cases. The verbal and written instructions given to the staff seemed further to bear out the charge that the law had probably been deliberately violated.

The great state of California is now left with all relief back in the hands of the local authorities, and great harm has been done as far as the welfare of the unfortunate clients of the S.R.A. is concerned.

There may be differences of opinion as to whether the advice of the union to its members was or was not wise when they were advised not to answer the question "Are you a communist?" But there will be very general agreement that the sentencing of these men and women to severe jail sentences for contempt was absolutely unjustified and a denial of one of the "four freedoms" in the state of California. It is to be hoped that the governor of California may be persuaded to pardon them without further delay. But it should also be added that it was not only unwise but unlawful for any workers holding public positions to refuse to accept the statutory definitions of eligibility in the law which they had accepted responsibility for administering. We may want better laws but we must at the same time obey those we have.

THE 1941 CONFERENCES

THE Atlantic City meetings now seem a thing of the past, and very little comment seems appropriate at this time. The 1941 president, Miss Jane Hoey, director of the federal Public Assistance Bureau, and the general secretary, Mr. Howard Knight, received congratulations on all sides for an unusually successful series of sessions. The registration was the largest the conference has ever had, and officers did not seem to be exactly responsible for the complaints that were heard. The complaints were, first, what we should have had better weather, and, second, that the conference was too large! As one member put it: "We want smaller meetings and not so many of them"; but the general secretary was given no help as to how to bring about this desirable result.

The conference was, almost inevitably, international in flavor, with Edward J. Phelan, acting director of the International Labour Office, and Charlotte Whitton, of Canada, speaking one evening, with a broadcast

address from Ernest Bevin, the British minister of labour. Then there was the interesting delegation of fifteen representatives of the South American schools of social work, who arrived under the guidance of the United States Children's Bureau for the sessions of the American association of schools. The South Americans were the guests at a gala dinner in their honor when the conference president, Miss Hoey, and Miss Lenroot, chief of the Children's Bureau and a former president of the conference, welcomed them on behalf of the social workers of North America and their own representatives assured us of their interest in our social welfare programs.

There were discussions of the social services needed in the defense program with Mr. Charles Taft and Mr. Jonathan Daniels as the general sessions speakers. There were many other distinguished speakers—Senator Robert M. La Follette, Chairman Altmeyer of the Social Security Board, Clarence Pickett of the Friends Service Committee, Robert Watt of the American Federation of Labor, and the conference leaders from many different fields. At the final conference luncheon we had the great pleasure of again welcoming our old friend the Secretary of Labor, who has been helpful at so many of our meetings. Miss Perkins brought again a fine appeal to the conference membership to follow the new roads to social justice. At the close of the luncheon Miss Hoey presented the new president, Mr. Shelby Harrison, director of the Russell Sage Foundation, and plans for the 1942 meeting were announced.

The delegate conference of the American Association of Social Workers, which preceded the conference, is also an old story by this time. The editor of the *Review* believes that the delegate conference showed an encouraging tendency toward a much-needed grass-roots movement. After the ups and downs of some stormy sessions, a New York delegate said the association was doomed: "This is the end of the A.A.S.W. It might as well be given up as hopeless after all this controversy" (with special reference to the resignations which were so dramatically announced, and so quietly withdrawn at the appropriate time). But, after all, the resignations, charges, and countercharges are unimportant. The real strength of the association does not depend upon who comes into, goes from, or stays in the national office or the executive committee of the national association. The strength of the association lies in the eighty-five chapters. The national office and the national committees are pretty remote from all of us. The grass roots are the chapters and the chapter work. The association will be strong only when the chapters are strong.

As this goes to press, the returns of the recent election have just come in, showing that the president, Wayne McMillen, has been re-elected by an overwhelming vote of confidence. This confirms us in our belief that the chapters and the chapter organizations will, in the long run, find a way to make their wishes known.

THE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

THE American Association of Schools of Social Work held a series of meetings at Atlantic City, and the Executive Committee of the Association was also in session during the Conference. Perhaps the subject of most general interest was the relationship of the schools to the so-called "defense program." An important report was presented to the Association by Miss Anna King of Fordham, a member of the Executive Committee, dealing with the relation of the schools of social work to the emergency. This report, which was approved by the Association, is so important that parts of it are presented here for our readers.

Principles governing educational programs for guidance of schools and agencies —The Committee believes that preparation of personnel for the emergency calls for experienced faculties, curriculum adequate in content, well-organized field work programs and educational facilities, which only the established and accredited schools of social work have available. It believes that such resources as these schools can command should be utilized to strengthen the graduate professional curriculum. It further believes that there should be no depletion of existing resources and that nothing should be done under the form of preparation which might lower standards which have been established at the present time. To these ends, the following statement of principles is directed:

a) The orientation of volunteers is distinct from the program of the professional schools and is properly the province of community groups, such as local councils of social agencies. Such orientation is non-academic, and its function is clarified by avoiding terminology such as "course" and "class" and "training" and by using the term "orientation." The schools of social work believe this to be outside their own area of activity, yet stand ready to act in an advisory capacity. Individual faculty members may be interested and helpful in such orientation.

b) The schools of social work may expect a decrease in the number of students entering the general course, but should expect a proportionately greater number of students preparing for the specialized services needed in the emergency, such as medical social work, psychiatric social work, child welfare, group work, and community organization.

In view of the need for mature, experienced personnel, it is believed that those who have completed a part of the basic work, as well as those who have

completed the work for the degree, may return for specialized preparation, and should be encouraged to do so.

As new courses are needed for this purpose, they should be viewed and added as a part of the regular curriculum. The use of such devices as "special courses" should be avoided.

Curricula in specialized content should be offered in reference to known needs. The following groups of students can be appropriately considered ready for such specialized preparation.

(1) Those who have completed the degree program, or a substantial part of it, followed by creditable experience in the field, and who need an experience under the best recent teaching and field work for a quarter or a semester, in order to make them of greater service. The need for such students is for an experience in a modern standard curriculum.

(2) Those who have demonstrated capacity in the field and who have made some progress toward their professional education and who need to complete the program.

(3) Those who have completed the basic first year and who wish to return for special work.

c) The needs of such students can best be met through a system of educational grants which will enable them to enroll in the professional schools. Since established federal agencies are now concerned with such programs, it is believed that any special appropriation for this purpose can best be furthered by these agencies.

d) The expanding program of certain national agencies, which should call for trained personnel, are viewed with concern, as it is known that certain national private agencies have undertaken new programs without due regard to proper qualifications of personnel.

It is known that their organizations are now offering short-time orientation periods which must be properly distinguished from educational programs which will be needed and are to be regarded as the functions of the agencies and not the functions of the schools. Attention of these agencies is directed to programs for "educational leave" more recently developed by certain national and state agencies. Such programs provide for a year or less of instruction in schools offering special facilities.

Other "Notes and News" from the schools that have come into the *Review* office during the summer include the following:

The University of California's Department of Social Welfare announces some new developments in program and a number of staff changes for the academic year, 1941–42. Additions to the staff include Mr. Howell Williams, recently instructor in social welfare administration at the University of Chicago, who becomes assistant professor of social welfare, teaching courses in public assistance

and assisting in the extension services, and Miss Rachel Greene, also of the staff of the School of Social Service Administration, who becomes an assistant professor, teaching case work and child welfare. Dr. Douglas Campbell of the university medical faculty is a new lecturer on psychiatry. Dr. C. E. A. Winslow of Yale will be a visiting lecturer in the fall semester, giving two courses on public health problems. Special training in psychiatric social work will be offered under Miss Jane Shaw Ward.

The State University of Iowa's Division of Social Work, which was admitted to membership in 1938, has been given up. And the Northwestern University Division of Social Work, admitted in 1936, has been discontinued.

Dean Elizabeth Wisner of the School of Social Work of Tulane University announces the opening of a large reading-room for social work students in the university's new air-conditioned Howard Tilton Library.

The New York School of Social Work announces a new housing course under Mr. Morris Zelditch. Miss Antoinette Cannon will be on leave of absence from the New York school to assist in organizing a new school of social work at the University of Puerto Rico.

Two new school administrators, Mr. Leonard Mayo of Western Reserve and Dr. Henry Coe Lanpher of the Richmond School of Social Work, will be respectively in charge of those institutions. Western Reserve also announces the appointment of Mr. Arthur H. Kruse, a graduate of the Western Reserve School and of Syracuse University with experience as a county director of public welfare in Ohio, as instructor in public welfare, and of Miss Beatrice Wajdyk, a graduate of the Pennsylvania School, and of the faculty of Smith College, who will be assistant professor of social case work. The Richmond School of Social Work announces the addition of Katherine Kendall (A.M., Louisiana State) to the staff. Mr. Clyde Pritchard (A.M., Chicago, 1939) has joined the faculty of the University of Washington School of Social Work; Miss Eda Houwink (A.M., Washington University, and recently a field work supervisor in the Chicago school) has gone to the University of Nebraska; Mr. Norris Clas, formerly director of child welfare for the state of Oregon, and recently with the United States Children's Bureau, has joined the faculty of the School of Social Work of the University of Southern California. Southern California is also adding to its staff Mr. Harleigh B. Trecker (A.M., Chicago) and recently instructor in group work and director of field work at George Williams College. Mr. John Cronin (A.M., Chicago, 1939, and recently of the faculty of the Notre Dame school) becomes the new director of the Graduate Division of Social Administration of the University of Louisville. Mr. Cronin succeeds Dr. Margaret Strong, who returns to her home in Canada and to the Toronto school.

Miss Mary Sydney Branch, formerly assistant professor of economics at Wellesley College, University Fellow at the Chicago School of Social Service Administration, 1940–41, becomes an instructor in the Chicago school and will give some courses in public finance as it relates to the public welfare program.

A new course in Public Organization for Health Services will be given by Professor Helen Wright, associate dean, and Dora Goldstine, assistant professor in medical social work. The Chicago school also announces the expansion of the medical and psychiatric social field work programs through co-operation with the Children's Memorial Hospital, the Douglas Smith Fund, and the Division of Medical Care of the Chicago Relief Administration.

LATIN-AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK

THE delegates from the Latin-American schools of social work, who attended the National Conference the first week of June, left immediately after the conference for a visit to various schools of social work in this country and to various social agencies and institutions. The group was organized and conducted by Mrs. Elisabeth Shirley Enochs of the United States Children's Bureau; and, although the fifteen delegates did not go west of Chicago, they visited various schools as well as public and private agencies and institutions between Chicago and the Atlantic Coast. Their visit ended with a successful meeting in Washington with the Advisory Committee of the Children's Bureau on Pan American Cooperation in Child Welfare Work. It is understood that Miss Lenroot is hopeful that some fellowships for study by representative Latin-American students in the schools of social work in the United States will be made available through the office of the Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics, Mr. Nelson Rockefeller.

Of interest also is the Pan American Child Congress, on which the Children's Bureau is now at work, and which will convene in Washington, March, 1942.

The directors and representatives of the schools of social service in the Latin-American republics, who constituted the delegation to the conferences held in the United States in June were as follows:

From Argentina, Dr. Estela Meguira, professor of social service, of the Escuela de servicio social del museo social argentino; and Señorita Marta Ezcurra, of Escuela de asistencia social.

From Brazil, Señorita Helena Iracy Junqueira, Escola de servico social, São Paulo; Doña Stella de Faro, Instituto social, Rio de Janeiro; Señora Theresita M. Porto da Silveira, director of Escola tecnica de servico social, Rio de Janeiro; Señorita Ruth Barcellos, of the training course in social work, Anna Nery School of Nurses, Rio de Janeiro.

From Chile, Señorita Rebeca Yzquierdo, director of Escuela de servicio social "Elvira Matte de Cruchaga," Santiago; and Señora Luz Tocornal de Romero, director, Escuela de servicio social de La Junta de beneficencia, Santiago.

From Colombia, Señora Maria A. Carulla de Vergara, director, Escuela de servicio social, Bogotá.

From Ecuador, Dr. Emilio Uzcátegui, director, Escuela de visitadoras sociales, Instituto de pedagogia, Quito.

From Mexico, Señora (Dr.) Julia A. de Ruisanchez, director, Escuela de servicio social, Ministerio de educación, Mexico City.

From Paraguay, Señora Iñes Baena de Fernández, director, Escuela polivalente de visitadoras de higiene, Asunción.

From Peru, Señorita Francisca Paz Soldán, Escuela de servicio social del Peru, Lima.

From Uruguay, Señorita Hortensia de Salterain, Escuela de servicio social del Uruguay, Montevideo.

From Venezuela, Señora Luisa A. de Vegas, director, Escuela de servicio social, Asistencia social del ministerio de sanidad, Caracas.

A RECENT ILLINOIS STATUTE FOR MARITAL "CONCILIATION PROCEEDINGS"

HASTE makes waste. During the last ten or fifteen years emphasis has been placed on the importance of delay and deliberation in entering into the holy bonds of matrimony. California pointed the way, and Illinois has now followed in the pathway of providing for deliberation and conciliation in ending the relationship of husband and wife—a conciliation procedure which may shorten the list of divorce decrees that occupy so much space in the metropolitan afternoon papers. Under the California law and under the recently enacted statute in Illinois any court of competent jurisdiction (the circuit courts throughout the state, the superior courts also in Cook County) may provide by rule that in any action for divorce, brought after the effective date of the statute, that would affect a minor child of either spouse, or at the request of either spouse, conciliation proceedings shall be had to preserve the marriage and home by effecting reconciliation and dismissing the action by agreement. Or, failing in that, by effecting an amicable settlement of all issues involved other than the divorce.

If such proceedings are attempted, they should be informal as a conference or series of conferences, at which, if the two parties agree and will meet the cost, a physician or psychiatrist, a minister, or any other person who might be helpful to the court, may be present.

During the conciliation period the court may make temporary orders in respect to the custody or education or support of a minor child and may issue temporary injunctions affecting the conduct of either husband or

wife or relating to the status of either spouse or to the property or rights of any minor child.

The Illinois Supreme Court is authorized to make rules of practice and procedure governing conciliation and other proceedings authorized by this act.

Any order made within the period must be re-examined and may be modified or terminated by any other judge beside the one entering the conciliation order provided within five days after the end of the period application is made for such action. Power is given the court to issue restraining orders forbidding either the husband or the wife to impose any restraint on the other party or to jeopardize the property or other rights of a minor child.

In any action for divorce in which the court requires either party to pay a sum of money to enable the other to maintain or defend the action, the court must designate the portion to be allowed for attorney's fees.

GEORGIA ENACTS A MODERN ADOPTION LAW

ON MARCH 27, 1941, Governor Talmadge of Georgia put his signature to a new adoption law that was in line with the best thinking on the subject and was to go into effect at once. As Georgia is often thought of as being a laggard in matters of social welfare, the story of the enactment of this law is interesting and suggestive. In 1939 the president of the Georgia Conference on Social Work appointed a committee to study and report on needed changes in the existing adoption law. The chairman of the committee was a woman lawyer on the staff of the Atlanta Legal Aid Society, and the other members of the committee were either lawyers or social workers familiar with adoption problems. This committee made in 1940 a preliminary report based primarily on a study of cases arising in Fulton County, that is, substantially in Atlanta. These cases made clear the need for a complete revision of the law, and a preliminary draft was therefore made and submitted for criticism to interested persons throughout the state. On the basis of suggestions received, an entirely new law was drafted and introduced into the legislature in 1941. Not only was the proposed act introduced but the state conference committee rallied such support for the bill that it was passed without alteration.

The essential features of an efficient adoption law (1) provide competent jurisdiction; (2) insure the consent of the natural parents or the presenting of evidence that their parental right has been terminated because of death, prolonged absence, or parental incompetence; (3) deter-

mine who may adopt and who may be adopted; (4) authorize antecedent investigation, preferably by a state welfare department; (5) assure deliberation by requiring a reasonable period between the time at which the petition is granted and the date at which the final order becomes effective; (6) in accordance with the view of a considerable number of social workers, allow for a longer period during which it is possible to annul the proceeding and terminate the relationship.

All these features are found in the new Georgia act. In the opinion of Dr. Elinor Nims Brink[1] of that state, the superior court of the county in which the adopting parents reside, which is the court given jurisdiction, is a better jurisdictional assignment than the court in the county in which the child is found. However, under this act the court is given discretion to allow the petition to be filed in the county of the child's domicile or in the county in which a licensed child-placing agency having custody of the child is located.

As to the adopting petitioners, they must meet three conditions: (1) they must be at least ten years older than the child, (2) they must be residents of Georgia, and (3) they must be financially able and morally fit to care for the child.

There seems to be adequate provision for requiring the consent of the natural parents if alive, except where the child has been abandoned, the parent is insane or otherwise incapacitated, or the custody has passed either by surrender or by court order to a licensed child-placing agency. If the child is fourteen years of age or older, his consent must be obtained in writing.

There are careful and specific requirements with reference to the data included in the petition which must be filed in triplicate, and a period of not less than seventy-five days must intervene between the filing of the petition and action upon it. During this period the State Department of Public Welfare is asked to make an investigation "through its own agents, one of its licensed child-placing agencies, or through an agency appointed by it." If for any reason the department is unable to make the investigation, it must report this fact to the court within twenty days, when other arrangements for an investigation are to be made. Again the statute attempts to insure a report giving adequate information with reference to the proposed adopting parents. If after investigation the department disapproves the adoption, it may move that the court dismiss the petition,

[1] Dr. Brink is the author of the study of the adoption laws of Illinois. See Elinor Nims, *The Illinois Adoption Law and Its Administration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926).

and the court is authorized to follow this advice. On receiving this report the court holds an interlocutory hearing in chambers, and if the conditions for adoption as set forth in the law seem to have been met so that it seems to be for the best interest of the child that he be adopted, an interlocutory order granting temporary custody of the child to the petitioners may be entered. Six months from the date of entering the interlocutory order the court may hold a final hearing. In this case service is made on all interested persons. The court passes on all objections which may have been filed in writing and, if satisfied, enters a final decree. By this decree the relation of parent and child is created between the petitioners and the child, except that while the child is made capable of inheriting from the petitioners, the petitioners are not enabled to inherit from the child. The name by which the child is to be known is made a part of the final order.

This act, as has been suggested above, follows the view of those who think that if some undisclosed weakness on the part of the child, existing prior to his adoption, such as feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, insanity, or venereal disease, manifests itself within seven years after the decree is entered, annulment may be obtained. The court is, in fact, given broad discretionary powers of annulment under a phrase "for other good cause shown unto the court." If such an annulment is ordered, the court must then assume responsibility for so disposing of the child as will be for his best good.

There are other provisions in the statute with reference to the alteration in the birth certificate of the adopted child and a simplified procedure for the adoption of an adult is likewise authorized. The problems of advertising to adopt children or to place children in foster-homes or "in any manner knowingly to become party to the separation of any child from its parents or guardians"—these subjects are comprehensively dealt with in the statute. In the view of Dr. Brink, this statute makes possible a great advance in the protection of children in Georgia. She points out, however, that since there is no statewide child-placing agency, there may still be great inequality of service in the 159 counties of the state. In Georgia, as in many other states, interest in other problems is retarding development of the child welfare program in the state area of service, and the county departments are inadequately equipped to handle adoption cases as they should be handled. It is to be hoped that the state conference, which has succeeded so well in this undertaking, may supplement it by further effort to obtain supporting legislation essential to give full effect to this adoption law.

S. P. B.

THE FOOD STAMP PROGRAM OF WIDE INTEREST

THE United States Department of Labor has issued the following general statement[1] regarding some of the larger aspects of the Food Stamp Plan.

For more than a decade American farmers have been confronted with huge unmarketable surpluses of various farm products. During the same period millions of unemployed and destitute Americans have been compelled to subsist on inadequate diets because they could not buy the commodities which farmers had in abundance but could not sell. Since 1933 the Federal Government has made several attempts to solve this paradox of want amongst plenty. Soil-conservation and agricultural programs have reduced excessive plantings of certain crops. On the other hand, millions of workers have found employment in private industry and have thus acquired the purchasing power to buy more and better foods for themselves and their families.

But these constructive programs have only partly solved the twin problems of overproduction and underconsumption. Farmers still have large unprofitable surpluses of certain foodstuffs, and several million men and women are still unemployed and must be supported entirely or in large part by public or private funds.

The food stamp program has therefore been designed to help move the farm surpluses of foodstuffs into the homes of families who need them. The program accomplishes three important objectives: (1) It broadens the market for food products, thus helping the farmers. (2) It provides more adequate diets for needy families, thus helping the consumer and improving national standards of health and well-being. (3) It moves all surplus foods through the regular channels of trade, thus helping business.

HOW THE PROGRAM WORKS

The program works very simply. In areas where it is in operation, families receiving public assistance may obtain a 50-percent increase in their food-buying power through the use of special surplus food order stamps.

Two kinds of stamps—orange and blue—are used. In order to obtain the extra food, families on relief must purchase from their local relief or welfare office orange-colored stamps in the approximate amounts they formerly spent in cash for food. With every dollar's worth of orange stamps bought, the relief family receives free approximately 50 cents worth of blue stamps. These blue stamps may be used only for the purchase of certain foods designated by the Secretary of Agriculture. These foodstuffs consist largely of dairy and poultry products, fruits and vegetables, and meats.

The orange-colored stamps are used to make sure that the family will continue to purchase as much food as it did before the stamp plan was started in the

[1] *Labor Information Bulletin*, VIII (July, 1941), 10–11.

community. The free blue stamps, however, represent a net increase in the amount of food which can be bought and consumed by families on relief.

Both types of stamps are accepted at their cash values by grocery stores. The stores in turn may cash the stamps at their local bank or use them to pay wholesale grocers. It is important to emphasize that the foods thus move from the farms to consumers entirely through normal channels of trade, and no attempts are made to regulate or fix the prices of the commodities.

WHAT ARE "BLUE STAMP" FOODS

The commodities which may be purchased with the blue stamps vary from time to time, depending upon seasonal and other economic factors affecting the supply of farm products. The first blue-stamp list in the spring of 1939 included butter, eggs, white and graham flour, corn meal, dry beans, oranges, grape-

A BLUE SURPLUS FOOD ORDER STAMP

fruit, and dried prunes. Other commodities which have appeared on the list include rice, potatoes, cabbage, onions, lard, and various pork products, and a number of fresh vegetables in the summer of 1940. Most of these food stuffs are extremely valuable, as they contain large proportions of the nutritious elements needed in a healthy diet.

During the last 10 months, from July 1, 1940, to April 30, 1941, families on relief purchased with their blue stamps approximately 33,000,000 dozen eggs, 25,000,000 pounds of butter, 228,000,000 pounds of flour, 104,000,000 pounds of vegetables, other than potatoes, and 131,000,000 pounds of pork and pork products. On the basis of every dollar's worth of blue stamps spent by relief families in April 1941, about 31 cents was spent for pork and lard, 28 cents for butter and eggs, 15 cents for cereals, and 26 cents for fruits, vegetables, and potatoes.

GROWTH OF PROGRAM

Started on an experimental basis in Rochester, N. Y., in May 1939, the food stamp program proved so successful that it has been extended to over 300 cities

and areas scattered throughout the United States. Nearly 4 million single persons and persons in families receiving public aid are now using the free blue stamps to buy farm commodities. In May 1940, about 1⅓ million persons were covered by the plan according to the Surplus Marketing Administration.

The food stamp program is in effect in nearly all the important industrial cities in which relief population is concentrated, and also in a large number of small cities and rural areas throughout the Nation. It also operates on a Statewide basis in Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, and Washington. The program is now operating in areas containing nearly 50 percent of the total population of the country.

Participation of cities and States in the program is based upon the willingness of their welfare agencies, public officials, banks, and other local groups to support the program and help make it operate successfully. This cooperation has been forthcoming in the overwhelming majority of localities where the program has been introduced. Retail stores, especially, have cooperated wholeheartedly. They have increased the volume of their sales and report little if any inconvenience through the use of orange and blue stamps in making sales to families on relief.

It is the firm policy of the Government that the stamp plan shall be used to supplement local relief and not as a substitute for such relief. Local welfare agencies handling relief clients must therefore sign a contract with the Surplus Marketing Administration agreeing that regular relief payments to families will not be reduced under the food stamp program. This is to assure that the increased purchasing power provided by the distribution of the free blue stamps will not be offset by reductions in the amount of the regular relief given needy families, and that the fundamental objectives of the plan to increase the consumption of farm products by providing greater quantities of nourishing foods for families on relief are carried out.

CONGRESS FINALLY PASSED THE MAY BILL

THE control of prostitution in the areas near the camps established for the men in the Selective Service of our democracy is now assured through the passage in July of the bill introduced last April by Congressman May, chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs. This bill should have been passed before a single soldier entered a single camp. All the experience of the last war showing the need for this control was available in various documents and the need of protecting the young men who were drafted at the call of the President and the Congress was a high obligation that rested on all the public servants who are now responsible for the disgraceful conditions described in the hearings before the House

Committee, reviewed in some detail in this issue of the *Review*.[1] The services of the very best social workers available should now be enlisted in this belated attempt to right the wrongs that have been inflicted upon our drafted men and the young girls who have been misled by the current neglect.

THE CIVIL DEFENSE COMMISSION

LAST January a Civil Defense Commission was sent to England. The members of this Commission were Surgeon-General Parran of the United States Public Health Department; Dr. Martha Eliot, associate director of the United States Children's Bureau; Mr. Geoffrey May, associate director of the Public Assistance Bureau, Social Security Board; and representatives of the War Department and the National Defense Advisory Commission. No report has been issued by this Commission. The editor has seen what is apparently an extremely valuable report by Dr. Martha Eliot of some seventy-five pages called *Civil Defense Measures for the Protection of Children: Report of Observations in Great Britain, February, 1941*. This report covers a wide range of subjects, including the protection of children under bombardment, the effect of war and civil defense on children, including the physical condition of children in the evacuation areas and the so-called reception areas; the effect of evacuations on the emotional life of children; general morale among children and youth, juvenile delinquency, and youth recreation centers. There is an account of the first major evacuations of children in September, 1939, and all the difficulties and modifications of the original plan that followed. There is an account of the later evacuations, including the effect of the bombing in September, 1940. A discussion of health and welfare services under the evacuation scheme in London and reception areas occupies a large section of the report. There is a careful review of the effect of evacuation on education and a report on conditions in reception areas. Finally, there is general comment on evacuation policies and procedures and some recommendations in respect to the protection and welfare of children in a civil defense program in the United States. As recently as August 1, this great report of Dr. Eliot's was still marked confidential, but it is hoped that it will soon be released and made available. The report of a competent observer like Dr. Eliot would be of wide interest both here and abroad.

[1] See below, pp. 599–602.

ADVANCING ON THE NUTRITION FRONT

NEW efforts to move forward along the nutrition front are of special interest to social workers who carry on the day by day, week by week, month by month, year by year struggle to provide for the underfed and undernourished people in our democracy. A recent number of the *Labor Information Bulletin* contains the following useful statement on this subject:

A major factor in the Nation's health is nutrition. "Food will win the war" was a familiar slogan in 1918. Since then, more than 20 years of research have made it even more evident that food will win the peace and defend our democratic way of life—and not merely more food, but also the *right* food for health and vigor.

The first National Nutrition Conference for Defense was recently held in Washington under the auspices of the Federal Security Agency and the National Advisory Committee on Nutrition. The findings revealed at this meeting of approximately 900 nutrition leaders stressed the need for an aggressive attack upon the problem of undernourishment.

Something more than 40 percent of the American people are not getting enough food or the right kind of food—and this in spite of the facts that we have the greatest food resources in the world and that the foods of which we have a so-called surplus are the very ones we ourselves need.

About one-fourth of our people are getting a really good diet, even when measured by lower standards than those to which we would subscribe today.

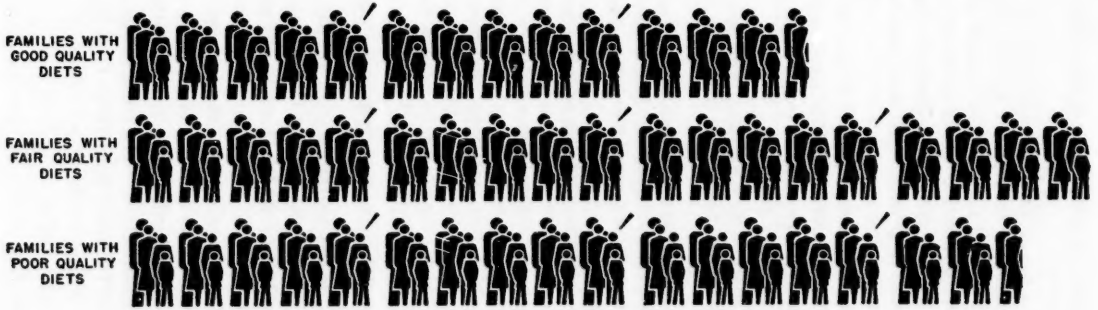
If everyone could have an adequate diet instead of an average diet, it would add 10 years to our active life span.

Out of a million young men given physical examinations under the Selective Service System, 380,000 were found unfit for general military service. It is estimated that perhaps one-third of the rejections were due either directly or indirectly to nutritional deficiencies. The high rate of Selective Service rejections for physical disability points not only to widespread undernourishment, but also to other serious gaps in health protection. They reveal past neglect of physical defects in children and adolescents. While exact figures are lacking, it is clear that many of these young men could have passed their physical examinations if their defects had been cared for while they were growing up.

If people who now can spend only 5 cents a meal for food per person could spend 10 cents, another 35 to 40 million acres of farm land would have to be devoted to food production and our food expenditures would increase by about 2 billion dollars. Add to these needs at home acute British shortages, and it becomes essential that the United States direct its agriculture to producing more of the nutritionally needed foods.

Free school lunches for children from underprivileged families, low-cost milk schemes, and the "food stamp" system for distributing so-called surplus foods have been tried out and have proved of great practical value. But none of these

PROPORTION OF AMERICAN FAMILIES LIVING ON GOOD, FAIR, OR POOR DIETS



EACH SYMBOL REPRESENTS 2 PERCENT OF THE FAMILIES IN THE UNITED STATES

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

BASED ON UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE ESTIMATES

methods is as yet reaching all the needy people to whom this kind of food would mean added health and strength.

As a guide to improving the nation's food standards and eating habits, the Food and Nutrition Committee of the National Research Council presented to the Nutrition Conference the first authoritative measure of what a good diet should provide. This "dietary yardstick" can be translated into easily available foods for any part of the country, and can be adjusted to the needs of different age groups and occupations. In general, regulations prescribing "enrichment" will be in full effect.

In addition to endorsing the "dietary yardstick" and the enriched flour and bread project, the Nutrition Conference made significant recommendations which should serve as a basis for a sound and truly Nation-wide nutrition program. Among others, its proposals include:

Vigorous and continued attack on the fundamental problems of unemployment, insecure employment, and rates of pay inadequate to maintain an American standard of living.

Full use of practical devices, such as the Food Stamp Program, free school lunches, and low-cost milk distribution, which will bring nourishing, adequate meals to those who could not otherwise afford them, and at the same time help to distribute food surpluses at a fair return to the farmer.

Efforts to improve food distribution, including processing, marketing, packaging, and labeling, to bring about greater real economies for the consumer. These efforts would include vigorous prosecution of illegal practices.

Encouragement of greater production of the foods needed in more abundance—milk and milk products, eggs, vegetables, fruits, and, in the case of many families, lean meats.

Vigorous and continuous research to add to our present knowledge of all aspects of nutrition, and more widespread education of doctors, dentists, social-service workers, teachers, and other professional workers in the field of nutrition.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

THE last report[1] of former Governor (now Ambassador) Winant as director of the International Labour Organisation will be widely read in America. The history of the I.L.O. while war was imminent and after war was declared is covered in the *Report*, which tells of the difficulties of continuing the Geneva offices and the removal to Montreal. By June, 1940, "it was obvious that contacts of all kinds with many of the Member States of the Organisation were cut off entirely, while others were so irregular as to be ineffective." The move to Canada was made "to avoid all danger that the International Labour Organisation, the repository of the traditions of a world-wide effort at tripartite international cooperation to promote social justice," should fail in its purpose.

Governor Winant's faith in the I.L.O. remains unshaken. The Organ-

[1] John G. Winant, *A Report to the Governments, Employers and Workers as Member States of the International Labour Organisation* (Montreal: I.L.O., 1941).

isation should be able, he believes, to offer its experience as a guide in a critical period of social history—"its continued existence as an instrument of co-operation between Governments, employers and workers" should, he thinks, be of the highest value.

> No one who is conscious of the acuteness of the social problems which another war, whatever its result, would inevitably bring in its train, can contemplate without the gravest disquiet any diminution in the influence of the Organisation as an instrument of co-operation between Governments, employers and employed during the difficult period that is likely to follow immediately upon the termination of hostilities.

He quotes the Declaration of Havana that the Organisation has "an essential part to play in building up a stable international peace based upon co-operation in pursuit of social justice for all peoples everywhere," and the statement of the delegates of 1939 who pledged "the unwavering support of the Governments and peoples of the American Continent for the continuance with unimpaired vigour of the efforts of the International Labour Organisation. . . . . "

Governor Winant believes that the Organisation will be needed in the future.

> Might it not, for example, be able to give technical help in the organisation of refugee re-employment? Might it not be of use to special committees dealing with war social problems? Might it not eventually be an instrument through which the social objectives of the democratic countries at war could be discussed and clarified?
>
> We know today very little of what the future holds; but the course of events so far during the war shows that we are living in a period not only of tragedy but also of opportunity. The door has closed on the pre-war world. When war is done, the peoples of all free nations, working together, will rebuild democracy more in their own likeness than it has been in the past. This much we know, for arms shall not be laid down in vain. What, then, is to be the foundation of the stronger democracy of the future? How can we help to draft a charter of social rights in a radically changed and rapidly changing world?
>
> The cornerstone of the future, at least, is already apparent from the mistakes of the past. Political democracy must be broadened to include economic stability and social security. The waste of resources which has been effectively eliminated in time of war must not be allowed to return once peace has come. An unemployed or poorly employed citizenry is no basis for winning the peace. . . . . No opportunity to enlarge the social content of democracy must be lost. No opportunity to strengthen the fundamental social and civil rights of the great majority of citizens must be neglected. No opportunity to wipe out the want and the hopelessness of the pre-war period must be ignored. This is not only prudent national defence, it is the tradition of democratic freedom.

THE GRACE ABBOTT FELLOWSHIP IN PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

AWARD BY THE DELTA GAMMA FRATERNITY

THE chairman of the Grace Abbott Fellowship Committee of Delta Gamma, Mrs. Arthur H. Vandenberg of Washington, D.C., has announced that the fellowship of $1,000 for a year of professional study in 1941–42 has been awarded to Miss Anna Sundvall of Salt Lake City, Utah. Miss Sundvall has been chief of the Child Welfare Services of Utah State Department of Public Welfare for the last four years. She has also served as assistant director of the Division of Employment of the W.P.A. in Utah, as district supervisor of the Utah State Board of Public Welfare, and before that she was supervisor with the State Emergency Relief Administration.

The committee, which met in Washington, invited Miss Mary Irene Atkinson, director of the Division of Child Welfare Services for the United States Children's Bureau, and Miss Agnes Van Driel, director of the Division of Technical Training, Bureau of Public Assistance of the Social Security Board, to serve as consultants for the committee, and both of the consultants were able to attend the meeting.

In announcing the award, the secretary of the committee said:

> All the members of the committee, including the consultants, were greatly impressed by the large number of excellent candidates who had made application for this Fellowship and expressed great regret that there were not several Fellowships to award instead of one. It is the earnest hope of the committee that the Fellowship may be continued, and announcements of the next Fellowship will be made at an early date. We hope, therefore, that the successful candidate is the first of a series of holders of this Fellowship whose work will be of increasing value to the Public Social Services to which Grace Abbott made such an outstanding contribution.

IN MEMORIAM

ALEXANDER JOHNSON: 1847–1941

THE long, useful, and interesting life of "Uncle Alec," as he was called by so many of our group, came to an end just before the assembling of the Sixty-eighth Conference at Atlantic City on June 1. Many old friends spoke of him there, not so much with grief that he was gone, for he had rounded out his full life to a great age, but with deep appreciation for the contribution he had made in the building of social forces in America and with sincere affection for a most lovable personality.

A Lancashire immigrant who had known the hardships of the workers at the time of the Cotton Famine, he was a small businessman and worker himself, and it is a tribute to the methods of the early charity organization societies that they provided a way to utilize the rare social capacities of this eager friend of the disadvantaged. In his book of reminiscences called *Adventures in Social Welfare*, published in 1923, he tells the story of the opportunity that came to him when he became a member of one of the now less used "committees" organized in the earlier days of the "Associated Charities" period, supposedly to advise early secretaries but also to interest and educate the "benevolent individuals" who wanted to help—whose intentions were so good but who needed to learn something of wise methods of giving help. Alexander Johnson said that he wished it were possible

> to picture in words the fine enthusiasm of the Associated Charities and Charity Organization Society people of the eighteen-eighties. We were so full of hope for humanity through our efforts, so confident of our new gospel of benevolence. It seemed not a ray but a whole flood of light on the dreary prospect of human misery. . . . . We did not have the phrase "family welfare work," but that was what we had in mind to do. We had never heard of "Social Diagnosis" but we tried to diagnose. When we talked of investigation, registration, co-operation, and visitation, those dry terms, at least to some of us, had life, and we used to make strenuous efforts to get them across to our scanty audiences at an occasional charity meeting. . . . . We had neither the technique of the art nor the many luminous terms of the science which have evolved since that day and we had to use other words, less lucid and less accurate, because they were all we had. Some of us tried for years to restore the poor, old, ill-used word "charity" to its pristine meaning; we needed it so badly and we only gave up the effort after years of failure.

He became secretary of the Associated Charities of Cincinnati in 1884, and later in 1886 he tried to establish a Charity Organization Society in Chicago when the opposition of the older Relief and Aid Society made this adventure a hopeless one.

Through the influence of Oscar McCulloch, a great name in the early days of social work, he became secretary of the new Indiana Board of State Charities in 1889 and began his long service for the state institutions. His greatest contribution, perhaps, was his constructive work for the feeble-minded—which was pioneer work of great value.

In 1900 Alexander Johnson became the secretary of the National Conference of Social Work, and many of those who are members of the Conference today remember with affection the Alexander Johnson period which initiated us into the great fellowship. Alexander Johnson had a

rare quality of humor, and the time for "announcements" at the general sessions was something to be on time for—to enjoy and remember. He was gay, lovable, and a friend to all Conference members. He taught in two of the earliest of the pioneer schools of social work—which were then called the New York School of Philanthropy and the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy. In the days before "public welfare," he was an interesting lecturer on "State Charities" and "Wards of the State." Alexander Johnson believed in the Conference as one of the great social forces, and he made it an important educational influence in the field of social welfare. There were some 250 members at the beginning and 2,500 at the end of his stewardship. But more valuable than anything else was the rare spirit of understanding that he not only possessed so abundantly himself but was able in some miraculous way to develop in those with whom he worked.

Some earlier words to social workers may well be recalled at this time:

> When I contrast the full and interesting life I have had during the past forty years with the dull, monotonous grind which probably would have been mine had I early learned to make money and become absorbed in that narrowing occupation, I am devoutly grateful to the friends who persuaded me to adopt the most fascinating of professions. A man can have no better fortune than that the labor by which he lives brings such satisfaction that if he did not need to work for wages he would gladly do it without. Such good fortune many a social worker shares with real artists, devoted physicians, true preachers, a few fine craftsmen, every great scientist and some other happy people.

PHILIP D. FLANNER: 1896–1941

PHILIP FLANNER was one of the ablest and most promising of the new recruits who came into the social welfare field to help meet the emergencies of the depression period. Although "Phil" Flanner, as we all called him, was born in Illinois and was graduated from Cornell University, everyone thought of him as belonging to Wisconsin, where he lived and worked for so many years and where he kept his home to the end.

For a period of ten years before the depression period he had been engaged in agricultural work in Wisconsin, and it was through service on the County Board that he became interested in the problems of relief and unemployment. His local activities came to the attention of the state authorities, and he was appointed to the field staff of the Wisconsin Emergency Relief Administration. From then on his career was a rapid series of merited promotions. He served successively as director of the transient division, as a member of former Governor "Phil" La Follette's Citizens

Committee on Public Welfare, as director of the State Department of Public Welfare, as W.P.A. administrator for Wisconsin, and as director of the State Department of Social Adjustment. In 1940 he resigned his state and federal welfare posts to become consultant with the American Public Welfare Association.

His work with the Association brought him in contact with the welfare administrations in many states, and people from coast to coast came to know him as a tireless worker in the public service who gave able leadership at state conference meetings, in state conference study classes, and in consultation with many of the local as well as state public welfare officials. His many friends who greeted him so recently at Atlantic City and who heard the fine paper he had prepared for one of the public welfare sections were shocked to hear of his sudden death while he was on his way home from Chicago to Madison on the third of July. He had been a leader in the Wisconsin progressive group and had the qualities of a convinced advocate of the needs of the underprivileged of his county, his state, and his country. His death is a great loss to our developing public welfare services.

HERBERT COLLINS PARSONS: 1862–1941

NEWS of the death of Herbert Parsons reached his many old friends in the National Conference just before the beginning of this year's sessions. A true New Englander, Herbert Parsons had an outgoing friendliness that knew no geographical limitations. Born in Northfield, Massachusetts, he had been the editor of the *Greenfield* (Mass.) *Recorder* and had had other experience as a journalist. He had been a member of the Massachusetts Legislature from 1896 to 1898 and then a state senator. But the work in which we knew him began when he became a member of the Massachusetts Commission on Probation in 1912. After serving on the Commission for two years he was state commissioner of probation from 1914 to 1932, and he served from 1929 to 1931 as a consultant for the Wickersham Commission on Law Enforcement. He had been a member of the State Commission for the Revision of Laws Relating to Children and he had served as president of the Massachusetts Society of Mental Hygiene. He was a distinguished public servant in the commonwealth of Massachusetts who helped to develop on a sound basis one of the important public welfare services.

A gentleman of the old school in the best sense of that term, he enjoyed many enduring friendships among the social workers of this generation.


EMPLOYMENT AND PAY ROLLS
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BOOK REVIEWS

The Neuroses in War. Edited by EMANUEL MILLER, with a concluding chapter by H. Crichton-Miller, M.D. New York: Macmillan Co., 1940. Pp. 250. $2.50.

This timely volume represents the collaborative efforts of a group of English psychiatrists whose viewpoints are manifestly different but who, characteristically, have succeeded in evolving an intelligently eclectic work suited to the practical exigencies of getting a big job done as effectively as possible. At the cost of some theoretical distortions there is presented here a workable basis in principle for dealing with the pressing problems of wartime psychiatry. The authors have by and large succeeded in their effort to make a coherent and useful presentation of these problems for the benefit of the general medical officers on whose shoulders must fall the larger part of the responsibility for dealing with the emotional disturbances of men at war.

While the book is for the most part based on the psychiatric experience of the 1914–18 conflict, the lessons of the present war, prior to October, 1940, have not been neglected. The readers of this journal will be especially interested in the chapter written by W. R. Bion on "The 'War of Nerves': Civilian Reaction, Morale and Prophylaxis." This fine presentation will receive further consideration below.

Chapter i is a review of the literature. Here the divergence of opinions entertained as to etiological factors leads the special commentator, H. Crichton-Miller, to suggest in his "General Conclusions" that ". . . . many observers (1914–1918) suffered from that restriction of the field of clinical vision which we encounter in other departments of medicine, and which prevents the physician from 'thinking in terms of the total personality.' " In this statement we have an indication of the outlook of the book which, while necessarily dealing with technical particulars, is thoroughly holistic in its view of the human personality in action, in war as well as in peace. In line with this, the author of the second chapter, who presents a series of illustrative "Case Studies and Their Relationships," says in his opening remarks:

> In mental diseases, and especially in neuroses of war, the march of events is an indication of the attempts of the total personality to cope with a disturbance which is never a local assault but always and from the beginning an invasion at all points. When a shell approaches a trench, or when a house is about to entrap a civilian in an air raid, it is not that a particular organ is about to be crushed, but that the whole man is in danger of annihilation. Indeed, such an impending disaster may, to the expectant mind, be the symbol of an emotional catastrophe which has been feared for years.

Chapter iv discusses differential diagnosis, and chapter v, by the editor, takes up "Psychopathological Theories of Neuroses in War Time." The latter in particular is somewhat complexly psychoanalytic and leads to the later attempt, in the "General Conclusions," to simplify the theoretical considerations of hysteria and anxiety for the benefit of those who have "read little of psychopathology and been taught less." Unfortunately, the result is one of those pragmatic but inaccurate formulations which have been referred to above:

> Hysteria is a social condition; anxiety is an individual one. Anxiety represents unexpressed feelings, and the symptoms of anxiety are emotional and vegetative. All hysterical symptoms are essentially forms of social appeal. They therefore imply dependence . . . . they are a bid for the solution of a personal problem by another individual . . . . if pure anxiety is a state in which no conversion symptoms are present, then pure hysteria emerges from nascent anxiety.

That is, the fear of threatened annihilation can be converted into physical symptoms which then are exploited as indicated above. Here it is seen that the emphasis is on the exploitation of hysterical symptoms for what we commonly know as the "secondary gain." From this point of view they can only be considered an unconscious form of malingering. This is far from the case, but the extreme degree of simplification of the issue must be forgiven because under the gross conditions of war it is practical in its application.

In the following three chapters on treatment and in the one on "Psychiatric Organization in the Services" the guiding principles are suggested in the foregoing formulation. Hysterical reactions are looked upon as necessitating more or less administrative and disciplinary management. The "purpose" of the hysterical symptom must be frustrated. Contamination of healthy personnel by the bad example of the hysteric must be avoided. The afflicted individual must be brought to face the anxiety of the danger situation from which he hopes his illness will rescue him. Everything must be done to deprive his symptoms of their potential "secondary gain," and he must be returned to the zone of danger and duty as promptly as possible. On the other hand, anxiety states receive a more generic treatment. Since they are looked upon as due to "unexpressed feelings" concerning the individual's ethical, moral, and prestige values, in conflict with the actual biological dangers and necessities confronting him, an effort must be made to get at these. The methods used encompass all the known techniques for reductive psychotherapy as well as the various exhortative and suggestive procedures, including hypnosis. There is a tendency to emphasize especially the "fear of fear" as a cause of war anxiety among cultured men, and the fact that officers, more than men in the ranks, tend to develop anxiety states is adduced in evidence. The prestige motives involved in the fear of proving derelict are presumed to be greater among the former. Attention is therefore paid not to removing fear, an impossibility in the face of the facts, but to removing the stigma of being afraid while encouraging action in the face of it. While the infantile roots of anxiety are recognized, it is correctly considered that

among men who were previously healthy the important etiological factors are in the precipitating events, the actual war experience, rather than in the earlier predispositions which must be given so much consideration in dealing with the chronic neuroses of peacetime. The basic assumptions are that normal civilized men are afraid in war, are repelled by the techniques of war, and are forced by various social and ethical considerations to act in the face of their biological fear and against the internalized forces of their previous acculturation. The astonishing thing is that they succeed.

As regards those emotional disturbances which are substantially such as are commonly present among us—the compulsion neuroses, the psychoses, etc.—the only consideration is the most expeditious return of the patient to the civilian milieus. It is extremely unlikely that war as such is productive of these diseases.

Coming to the "War of Nerves," we may state its thesis as follows: The civilian is the object of an attempt by the enemy to rouse unconscious sources of infantile anxiety which will obscure his perception of reality and disturb his capacity to deal with it. To the extent to which fearsome propaganda appeals to him as validly fearful, to that extent is his feeling of real helplessness augmented and, to a corresponding extent, are his primitive anxieties aroused. Unlike the soldier, he has no definite aim with regard to the threatening danger and is lacking in the fortification which the tradition of military valor, together with its paraphernalia, and close association with others in that tradition provides. He has "no really powerful check to the desire for self-preservation," and this desire can consequently manifest itself primitively in ways not directed to the actual reality. "The strain of war will to some extent be diminished for those who are serving in some organization which has definite, clearcut aims with powerful emotional appeal and a discipline." The medical profession and the profession of social work are examples. The Nazis have accomplished the same end by placing everybody in uniform. For other nations, however, this would constitute a repudiation of the democratic ideal. "Salvation probably lies in a full exploitation of the virtues of a democratic organization and not its repudiation." On the other hand, the abandonment of the civilian to his own inadequate defenses would lead to "rumor mongering, panic, and aggression toward all authority from the heads of the government downwards."

What is the remedy? The author suggests "some modification of the disciplinary framework that exists in a fighting service." But, "fresh organizations should not be created .... in time of stress an unknown quantity is .... a hostile object. Familiar authorities, particularly those recognized since childhood, are preferable. In the forefront of such organizations are, of course, the police."[1] Civilian defense might therefore be best intrusted to a "special constabulary" with a small permanent staff and the entire civil population as its general membership available for the emergencies. England with its colonial history (of which we in the United States are, of course, a part) has a minute-

[1] This, of course, refers to the British police.

man tradition which could be capitalized. A civilian emergency, such as an air raid, would be a general call to previously allotted duties from which, like the pioneer, the citizen would return to his daily task. ". . . . A scheme utilizing our mental heritage of adventure has power of eliciting just those emotional forces . . . . which support the soldier and which are lacking in civilian life." Even the aged could be given trifling manipulative tasks. The simple act of having to buckle on belt and equipment quells the initial fear of a soldier about to engage in battle. A civilian alarm must therefore be a call to action, however trivial, and the civilian should be a unit in the defense scheme of whatever place he is in during an emergency.

Chiefly this refers to the place of his regular employment which must meet certain important psychological (and real) requirements. These are "good" or security-giving elements: a firm that "helps the worker feel the care of a good parental image that feeds and clothes. A bad organization produces a bad image. . . . . Obviously, a worker in a well organized firm with good employers is better able to dispense the same atmosphere in his home. . . . " and in his community. In the "bad" firm "hostile feelings will have been aroused towards parental images" and these feelings will tend to be displaced toward even the most humble civilian authority.

It will be obvious to the reader that suggestions such as these ramify far beyond the limited confines of the single place of employment and that the implications are not one jot less than " 'good' or security-giving elements" in the whole social structure and body politic, if morale is to be genuine and valor more than skin deep.

In addition to the foregoing, broad educational measures are necessary to "train the individual not to be unduly alarmed by the echoes that are evoked in his own mind by the nightmare noises of others. . . . ." The function of these measures is to wean the individual "from the phantasy levels of his mind by steady insistence on the facts of objective reality." And for this purpose it is proposed that those "who administer the wide series of activities known as 'Social Services' " be enlisted. Furthermore, "it would seem a pitiful waste" not to make use of the many thousands of former service men as "the unofficial N.C.O. of the civil population." The point is that it is not psychological indoctrination which is needed. "Experience shows that unless psychological training has been very thorough, a half-baked knowledge of the subject is only synonymous with a loss of intuition and even of common sense." But rather that well-chosen personalities, with adequate capacities for testing reality, be placed in position to influence the mass of the population which may be inadequate in this respect. Here the author stumbles over the attendant problem of the misuse of this "influence." "Some means must be found by which morale must be maintained without in any way dictating the ends to which the individual uses the capacities which he is helped to retain in efficiency." Theoretically this means that those charged with the responsibility for the morale of

others must "deal successfully with the 'Hitlerism' in themselves." This problem the chapter does not undertake to solve. It remains content with the suggestion that "occupational therapy or prophylaxis must be confined to such matters as give to the teacher the minimum scope for impressing his own political or other views on the individual." The reader must decide for himself how far this is possible and what the pitfalls may be.

This section of the book has been reviewed in more extensive detail because of its special pertinence to the possible role of the social worker in a crisis period of our own. Space does not permit the discussion of specific details touched on such as actual types of training courses, symptoms of deterioration of morale, etc. The entire chapter is well worth the attention and thought of the reader. The book as a whole merits the attention of the psychiatric social worker who may find herself cast in an important role in the near future.

MAXWELL GITELSON, M.D.

MICHAEL REESE HOSPITAL
CHICAGO

Nutrition and the War. By GEOFFREY BOURNE. Cambridge University Press, 1940. Pp. 126. $1.00.

When the author was writing this little book he did not know what turn the war would take, but he foresaw that British food purchasers would have to change their buying habits as the supply of certain foods became scarce or was cut off entirely. He was convinced that purchasers who possess a working knowledge of human nutritive needs and of the nutritive value of various articles of foods would be best able to substitute new foods for the old stand-bys without impairing the health of their families. Accordingly, he undertook first to summarize briefly and in simple language the essential facts of human nutrition and then to give information about the contribution of various foods to the diet. In one list he classified the principal foods in the British dietary according to their value as sources of the essential nutrients; in a second list he grouped the best sources of each of these nutrients. Thus, if the supply of any food should be cut off, the housewife would look in List A to see what nutrients that food supplies; then she would consult List B to see which of the foods still available are good sources of those nutrients.

The section of the book that deals with facts about nutritive needs is based on thorough familiarity with the nutrition literature of the United States as well as on that of Great Britain. It would seem that the author has not been uniformly successful in his attempt to write simply; but perhaps British housewives, to whom the book is addressed, are on more intimate terms with "chylomicrons" and "petechiae" than are their American sisters.

The idea of the two food lists, which together give the food purchaser the basis for substitutions without loss of food value, would seem to be an excellent

one. One questions, however, the rating of foods on a strictly quantitative basis without regard to the size of average servings. For example, it seems misleading to list eggs, which are eaten one or two at a time, as a "good" source of iron, and curry powder, of which a tablespoon suffices for an entire family, as a "very good" source of iron.

To give a separate rating to individual foods undoubtedly adds much to the interest of the lists for the casual reader. As an educational device, however, it would seem more important to indicate also the nutritive qualities of the main groups of foods, such as milk and cheese; green leafy vegetables; meats, fish, and poultry. To realize that individual foods bear strong resemblances to other members of the same family simplifies greatly the problem of substitution and makes for wise buying even when the book has been left behind on a trip to market.

It is easy enough to suggest minor changes that might add to the value of such a book as this. It is more important to point out that the author has seen a need and has met it to a considerable degree. May some American nutritionist be equally alert as we too face the prospect of certain readjustments in our food supply.

MARJORIE M. HESELTINE

U.S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dependency under the Draft. By CHARLES G. STEVENSON. ("Contemporary Law Pamphlets: Administrative Law Series," Ser. 7, No. 1.) New York: New York University School of Law, 1941. Pp. 72. $1.00.

Social workers will find this treatment of dependency and the draft interesting. This is not dependency as distinguished from delinquency and deficiency, but dependency as giving a right to support, with its reciprocal obligation serious enough to justify special treatment by the Draft Board. The Selective Training and Service Act, 1940," 54 Stat. (Sept. 16, 1940), 50 U.S.C.A. § 310 (*a*) (2) (Supp. 1940), provides for deferment "of those in a status with respect to persons dependent upon them for support which renders deferment advisable."

Questions arise at once as to what "persons" may by what set of conditions create this situation, and questions of dependency call for the expenditure of much time and for serious consideration on the part of the 6,253 "draft-boards which have been set up and exercise" almost autonomous power with reference to the personal liberty of millions of individuals. Their power is plenary, their decisions final. No appeal to the courts is possible. In cases of obvious notorious abuse of power there may be appeal to an appeal board and thence to the President. This study attempts to point out the dangers of autocratic exercise of power and to facilitate reasonable and fair administration on their part.

Questions of dependency are the "most prolific source of calling into play

their fact-finding and quasi-judicial decisions." There are no superior tribunal decisions that must be followed throughout the country, nor is there any machinery for publicizing the decisions of the appeal boards among the local boards. There must therefore be great diversity of practice and a strangely uneven and diverse treatment of young men within the draft age whose conditions may be almost identically similar. The administration of the draft must therefore be a deep mystery to many registrants and their families.

The Act naturally recalls to the reader's mind the provisions in the workmen's compensation laws which have forced the courts to discuss the problems of dependency. The Selective Training Act, however, unlike the compensation acts, has defined "in minute detail" the phrase "dependent for support," and, in addition, regulations going much further than the Act have been promulgated by the President.

Under the definition in the Act a dependent is "an individual (1) who is dependent in fact .... for support in a reasonable manner and (2) whose support .... depends on income earned .... in a business, occupation, or employment."

Under the regulations promulgated by the President, the dependent person must be (1) a wife, divorced wife, child, parent, grandparent, brother, or sister or (2) a person under eighteen or a person of any age who is physically or mentally handicapped whose support the registrant has assumed in good faith, and (3) a citizen of the United States or living in the United States or its possessions. The dependent must at the time of classification be receiving support from the registrant's earnings, and these contributions must constitute an important part of the recipient's income. All these conditions must be satisfied. The absence of any one of them will prevent the deferment of the registrant.

Social workers will be interested in the discussion of the situations described and the obligations recognized or ignored. Especially the importance of the actual facts or practices revealed with reference to obligations recognized as contrasted with those implied calls for specific information as distinguished from inferences derived from the ordinary legal implications. The test is actual support not the ordinary legal obligations. Thus the wife or the child or the parent may or may not be a dependent to justify deferment when there is no question under the law of domestic relations or of the poor law that contributions could be enforced.

Since the discussion is intended to facilitate reasonable and fair decisions on the part of 6,253 boards, each of "which exercises the functions of judge, jury, prosecuting attorney and defense counsel all rolled into one," it is very simply phrased. The technique of emphasis by repetition is sometimes employed, and the author shows deep concern that even so, questions of dependency under the draft should be determined by "law rather than by men."

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Public Ownership of Government: Collected Papers. By EDWARD P. COSTIGAN. New York: Vanguard Press, 1940. Pp. xvi+347. $3.50.

Social workers who remember gratefully the invaluable help given by the late Senator Costigan in so many fields of public service in which they are concerned will be very glad to have these papers which have been selected from a wealth of material that constitutes the public record of one of the ablest and most devoted of our great public servants. As social workers we came to look upon Senator Costigan as our chosen leader in Washington at the time when federal aid for relief hung in the balance during the bitter years of 1930–33. A great lawyer, who believed in the social welfare measures we advocated, he had been, at an earlier time, one of our counselors about federal child labor legislation and the child labor amendment which many of us hope will yet be a reality. He was one of the most faithful supporters of Sheppard-Towner in the old days and one of the best friends of "social security" and "fair labor standards" at all times.

This book contains papers covering the whole of his public career which began not long after he left the Harvard law school at the turn of the century. He returned to Denver, his family home, where privilege and place might have come to him so easily with the position he inherited. But he enlisted instead in the great cause of social justice, which was calling for able young recruits at that time.

There is a fine introductory note written for this collection of papers by George Creel, the old friend with whom he marched shoulder to shoulder in 1912 at Armageddon.

Mr. Creel recalls for all of us the part that Edward Costigan, the able lawyer, played later in the great battle of 1913–16 over the Ludlow miners, which startled Colorado out of its acceptance of many injustices that had, over a long period of years, been visited upon a defeated and discouraged group of workingmen and their families. Social workers who do not remember the story of Ludlow will be interested in the Creel note:

> At the start of the strike, the miners had quit their homes on company property, establishing tent colonies near Ludlow on leased ground. Deciding to destroy this pitiful refuge, the militia opened an attack on the morning of April 20, machine guns riddling the tents, and setting them on fire. The men fought back from the arroyos, but their wives and children, hiding in safety pits, were forced to choose between flames and flying bullets. Two women and eleven little ones were burned to death under the blazing tents. . . . .
>
> Fleeing from Ludlow, the strikers massed on a hogback near Walsenburg, and the militia marched against this position on April 29, and during the course of a battle which raged for two days, Major P. P. Lester was killed by a stray bullet. The "rebellion" crushed, seventy-nine strikers and sympathizers were arrested for conspiring to murder Major Lester, and the State announced its intention to demand the death penalty.

Only those who were living in Colorado at the time, Mr. Creel suggests, can possibly understand the intensity of feeling aroused by the Ludlow strikers.

"The propertied and privileged classes," Mr. Creel writes, "declared their determination to crush industrial uprisings once and for all, and the press .... chanted hymns of hate." It was supposed that the miners had little chance against "this grim phalanx."

All Edward Costigan's skill as a trial lawyer was called for when he undertook the defense of the indicted men, and his work is "given high place in legal annals. The moving eloquence of his four-hour argument at the conclusion of the trial" led to the verdict of not guilty for the men and, Mr. Creel believes, "was largely responsible for ushering in a new and fairer order." The miners' case was later presented by Mr. Costigan before the United States Industrial Commission, and it is the statement before the Commission that has been selected for presentation here as the fifth paper in this volume, and his final argument to the jury in 1916 follows as the sixth. These two Ludlow papers include one hundred pages, and making these available for the general reader would be in itself a sufficient reason for publishing this book.

Appointed by President Wilson to the newly created Tariff Commission in 1916, his knowledge of this field became unrivaled, and he was sent to Europe late in 1918 to examine and discuss the international economic problems and commercial treaties of that difficult period. It is proper that there have been three tariff papers selected for this volume, but social workers will be especially interested in number twelve, his now historic letter of resignation when he left the Tariff Commission after he had presented to the President and the Congress the indictment which showed that the Commission had ceased to be a scientific, nonpolitical, and impartial investigating agency.

> Yet no part of the public edifice can be undermined without danger to the whole structure. Public service still demands public fidelity. And the ancient right of remonstrance remains. .... One further dissent is in order. I am therefore returning my official Commission. ....

There is an anti-lynching speech, another on free speech, and one on "Our Government Partnership" that will be appreciated by many readers today, when every departure from "rugged individualism" is opposed with the charge of a "totalitarian" threat. This address contains a fine statement of the "age-old issue with respect to the degree to which government may properly and helpfully interfere with economic development by imposing fixed rules for the competitive games of business and industry, including agriculture." Quoting the old slogan "the least government is the best government"—a slogan that has been used to injure so many good causes—Senator Costigan said:

> Certainly, if it were true that the least government is the best government, then our courts should be closed, our police and armies withdrawn, our laws for education, sanitation and the control of highways, including railroads, suspended, and we should return .... to the evils of uncontrolled liberty to do whatever our ambition or other passions dictate. Such a decision would be unthinkable. It, therefore, only remains to consider how far we may wisely go in the direction of governmental interference and control.

Also included here are two of his many addresses on Federal Aid for Unemployment Relief—the opening statement he made December 28, 1931, at the historic first meeting of the Senate Committee on Manufactures, when the first Costigan–La Follette Federal Relief bill was considered, and his great speech in the Senate in the following February before the bill was finally defeated.

Social workers will be glad that at least a brief speech on the Child Labor Amendment has been included, and they will also be interested in many of the other papers, especially the two on peace.

The book is, indeed, as Mr. Creel says, "a great record of a great public servant," and social workers are one group among many who will look upon this volume as "a contribution to the gospel of democracy, and proof irrefutable that there is a place in American public life for ideals and idealists."

E. A.

The Federal Role in Unemployment Compensation. By RAYMOND C. ATKINSON. Washington: Committee on Social Security, Social Science Research Council, 1941. Pp. x+192. $2.00.

Since 1936 Mr. Atkinson, for a large part of the time in collaboration with Mr. Walter Matscheck and other associates, has been engaged in studies of the public employment services and unemployment compensation under the sponsorship of the Social Science Research Council; and several important books and reports, notably *Public Employment Service in the United States* (1938), have emerged from this undertaking. The present book is the latest of these studies, and, as might be expected, it is a mature and skilful piece of work. It deals with the structure and administration of the American system of unemployment insurance, with particular reference to federal participation and influence, and leads up to consideration of a major question of future policy, nationalization versus continuation of the present federal-state system.

The first three chapters sketch briefly the background of unemployment compensation and the structure of the system that grew out of the Social Security Act. The state laws that were hastily enacted in 1936 and 1937 to comply with the provisions of the Social Security Act were surprisingly uniform, largely because of federal leadership. Although amendments in 1939 showed "the beginning of a trend towards diversity" and a lessening of federal influence over legislation, the various state laws remain very similar.

Federal influence over administration is analyzed in detail in succeeding chapters. The 100 per cent grant toward administration, an innovation in federal grants to the states, has been administered, the author thinks, with reasonable success. But "to assign broad administrative authority to states without requiring them to bear a substantial part of the cost is anomalous and potentially dangerous." Serious consideration should therefore be given to the substitution of some form of matched grant. Budget and grant procedure by the Social Security Board involved at the outset highly detailed control over the

state systems, including itemized budgets that gave but little discretion in expenditures to state administrators. Although this policy has been substantially modified, further progress toward lump-sum budgets is advocated. The Board has made great headway in formulating administrative standards and in persuading the states to put these into effect. In particular, it has brought about the general adoption of the merit system for employees, thus paving the way for over-all systems of civil service in many states. The research and technical service offered by the Board has been invaluable to the states and generally has been well received. In sum, federal influence over state administration has been enormous, and reasonable standards of administration have been attained in most of the states.

But the federal-state system is full of problems. Co-ordination of the four federal social insurance services—unemployment compensation, old age and survivor's insurance, railroad unemployment insurance, and railroad retirement—and of the various state unemployment compensation systems presents very great difficulties. Differing provisions of legislation regarding employee coverage, employer experience rating, and other items stand in the way of collection of pay-roll taxes by a single national agency. Employers generally have to submit three different wage reports to social insurance authorities, federal and local, which in turn keep separate record systems, and there are serious technical difficulties in the way of unification of wage reporting and record-keeping. The payment of benefits to workers moving from one state to another presents grave problems. There is some reason for concern about the maintenance of an adequate benefit structure, on account of the disposition of some states to amend the experience rating provisions of their laws in the interests of employers who seek lower pay-roll charges.

This leads logically to an illuminating chapter on the relative merits of a federal-state as against a federal system of unemployment insurance. The present system, in the opinion of the author, offers certain advantages of experimentation, adaptation to local conditions, and local participation in administration, but involves grave administrative problems that can be overcome only with much difficulty, if at all. A national system, on the other hand, would largely clear away these administrative problems, would permit a much greater measure of social insurance co-ordination (including the elimination of the separate systems for railroad workers), and would greatly simplify administrative structure. Still more important, it would distribute the costs of unemployment more fairly over the whole country, would assure uniformity of benefits, would offer far greater protection against insolvency of the insurance funds, and would prevent state competition in whittling away benefits standards. Therefore

> the advantages of a federal-state system are greatly out-weighed by those of a national system. . . . . But if so fundamental a change is not politically feasible, it is essential that an effort be made to strengthen and perfect the present system by the adoption of national standards concerning the contribution and benefit structure and by the establishment of an effective plan of reinsurance.

The study is a very effective piece of analysis. It is concisely and clearly written and is beautifully organized. Factual detail is used sparingly—too slightly, perhaps, for the reader without technical knowledge of the subject. But this will not detract from its great value to the student of social insurance, who should find it a contribution of major importance to his subject.

HARRY M. CASSIDY

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

The Administration of Federal Work Relief. By ARTHUR W. MACMAHON, JOHN D. MILLETT, and GLADYS OGDEN. Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1941. Pp. 407. $3.75.

Despite the authors' modesty in claiming that they have focused chiefly on problems of administering the federal works program—leaving to others the job of appraising it from the viewpoint of relief policy—they have nevertheless written what to this reviewer, at least, appears to be the broadest-gauged, most independent, and most objective analysis of the W.P.A. yet published. While the report does give primary attention to problems of administration, such chapters as "The Works Program Canalized: Extensions after 1935," "Politics and Public Relations," and "Collaboration in Employment Administration" provide vital and absorbing analyses of federal policies social workers have rejoiced over and chafed under during the last five or six years.

One cannot read far into this report without realizing that it is forthrightly and courageously written. To the authors a spade is a spade, a mistake is a mistake, and politics is politics. Commenting upon the requirement that certain W.P.A. officials must be confirmed by the Senate—an evil which is bitterly attacked as inimical to good administration—the authors declare that because of this requirement "responsibility for the conduct was dissipated" and "singleness of responsibility . . . . undermined and cohesion endangered. Even if political considerations in the several states are not made dominant in this manner, the organization must at least pay attention to those considerations and come to terms with them. The W.P.A. labored always under this fundamental necessity."

Not even the relation of the Presidency to the works program escapes its share of criticism. In summing up lessons learned from W.P.A. history, the authors conclude that "to have the President as directing head of a program is not a desirable arrangement"; that "the conditions that force the President to assume chief administrative direction of an enterprise can be largely avoided if purposes are carefully planned and defined"; that "the Presidency . . . . must provide the means for periodic reassessment of policy," and finally that "the Presidency must furnish the supervision of the interrelationships among agencies . . . . no matter how decisive may be the original delegation of authority made possible by good initial planning."

Impressive as the honesty and courage of the authors may be, they have also proved that a solid and weighty report can be interestingly and, in spots, charmingly written. Discussing the Administration's desire to launch a works program that would appear to be something new and a break with the past, the authors write that it was to be "shining in novelty, not tarred by the brush of identification with any existing emergency agency." Again, in describing President Roosevelt's penchant for keeping about him advisers holding widely different points of view, they term his unique type of leadership "a planetary system wherein many . . . . have a place in the sun."

Among the most interesting sections of the report is that on the genesis of the works program. Privileged as the writers were to be on the ground while many of the recorded events transpired, to see confidential memoranda, and to talk freely with those responsible for framing and carrying out federal relief policies, they have succeeded in giving readers what might be termed ringside seats from which to witness the birth of an idea. If the resulting idea possesses a badly mixed nature comprising a number of mutually conflicting elements, this is understandable in the light of the miscellaneousness of its forbears. If it seems misshapen and unlike anything previously conceived by man, this will occasion little surprise among those who realize what a variety of attendants helped to usher it into existence.

The prime purpose of the authors and of the Social Science Research Council's Committee on Public Administration (which sponsored the study) was to "capture," "record," and "appraise" some of the measures adopted in 1935 to combat the depression. Hope is expressed that this analysis of "organizational problems . . . . involving many agencies" will "throw light on the problems of future national emergency efforts." This it should do if, hopefully, it is consulted by those who are called upon to act in such emergencies.

Dr. Arthur W. Macmahon, who appears to have carried primary responsibility for the book, is professor of government at Columbia University. Co-author John D. Millett, also of Columbia, is the author of an earlier report on the W.P.A. entitled *The Works Progress Administration in New York City.* This, too, was published under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council. Drs. Macmahon and Millett have recently collaborated on another work—*Federal Administrators.*

The principal role of Miss Gladys Ogden, research assistant, seems to have been that of interviewing responsible officials and of organizing at a relatively early stage of the game Dr. Macmahon's voluminous notes on his day-by-day contacts with those who were engaged in establishing and administering the works program.

In view of the breadth and highly controversial nature of the subject of this report it appears to this reviewer to be treated with remarkable accuracy. One minor point to which social workers may take exception is that relating to attitudes toward the W.P.A. Although it is undoubtedly true, as the writers say,

that "some social workers . . . . looked with misgiving upon the continuance of the works program as the principal means of expressing federal obligation for care of the unemployed," there were others (and probably more) who took exception to federal unemployment relief policy not because it gave *principal* emphasis to work relief but because it provided this type of aid *exclusively* and on a chronically inadequate basis and did not undergird a more comprehensive program of both work and cash assistance.

DONALD S. HOWARD

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

The New Centralization. By GEORGE C. S. BENSON. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941. Pp. 181. $1.00 (college edition).

"Centralization," as the term is used in this book and in the field of public administration generally, refers to the process of transfer of administrative authority from a lower to a higher level of government. In a federal state, this process is made more complex by reason of the fact that there are three levels of government among which administrative authority may be distributed. For more than a hundred years after 1789, the system of distribution prevailing in this country was one which concentrated the administrative tasks chiefly on the local level, made legislation the principal task of the state level, and left to the federal government primarily the role of acting as the American department for foreign affairs.

When this system began to prove unequal to our needs, it did so with appalling suddenness. Today we look back upon a decade of frantic centralization. The trend has manifested itself in North Carolina's assumption of responsibility for highways and schools, in the various direct relief programs of the federal government, and in a thousand other ways. Always the effort has been to give tasks to that administrative jurisdiction which would have the financial and administrative resources to deal with them. Increasingly often it has appeared that only the federal government could meet these specifications, and the administrative burdens imposed upon it have been tremendous. The problems of allocation were nowhere more compellingly faced than in the drafting of the Social Security Act, and the result represented a desperate effort to prevent centralization from being carried to its logical extreme by preserving to the states a major share in the administration of that important program.

It is with this trend toward centralization and the resulting problems of interlevel adjustments and intergovernmental relationships that Mr. Benson is concerned in the brief compass of his excellent book. He reviews the present pattern of distribution of functions, examines the important grant-in-aid technique, considers the by-passing of the sovereign state which is involved in the many cases of direct federal-local programs and contacts. He notes the legislative, administrative, and fiscal weaknesses of state governments which had led

to increasingly heavy demands upon the federal government, and yet he concludes that the states retain sufficient vitality and functions so that their capitals stand in little danger of becoming the ghost towns of the future. He notes the increasing extent of state control over local administration but realistically recognizes the incongruity of this process where cities overshadow in resources and administrative competence the states in which they lie. Its lively consideration of these and related questions makes this book a noteworthy addition to the interesting "American Government in Action" series.

C. HERMAN PRITCHETT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

What of the Blind? A Survey of the Development and Scope of Present-Day Work with the Blind. Edited by HELGA LENDE. New York: American Foundation for the Blind, 1941. Pp. 204. $2.00.

Volume II of *What of the Blind?* offers articles by eighteen persons, the majority of whom are authorities in one or more phases of work with the visually handicapped. Whereas Volume I, published in 1938, is a general reference book, Volume II presents more specific topics, emphasizing recent developments and present-day thinking on phases that are of the utmost importance if the potentialities of the blind are to be in any degree realized. Volume II is an unusually readable book, opening with a straightforward personal experience in blindness by Charles Adams. Just how other faculties such as memory, hearing, touch, and smell must be adapted to make up in so far as possible for the 80 to 90 per cent of impressions ordinarily received by sight is told graphically—almost in a laboratory manner. The book explodes a number of popular conceptions, including the one that "compensation" in other senses follows loss of sight. It is is devoid of sentimentality and increases one's understanding and respect for the specific difficulties involved in "this business of being blind." It extensionalizes and individualizes the problem rather than stimulates mass pity. A happy beginning for such a book emphasizing present philosophies and problems in the field of blindness, it stirs the interest of the lay person to explore further the various fields of adjustment of an individual deprived of the sense of sight.

It is refreshing to know in most cases that the discussants recognize that they do not know the answers to all the problems even in their own field. For instance, in the necessarily technical chapter on "Mental Measurements of the Blind," after telling how the mental tests for the blind have been developed and used, Dr. Hayes states that although present evidence would seem to indicate two years' retardation in school work and in the abilities that intelligence tests measure, it will be only after further work has been completed that a more explicit answer can be given to the frequent question: "How intelligent are the blind?"

The article on "Special Groups among the Blind" is written with insight,

understanding, and a bit of humor. Mrs. Mayshark, who has done an outstanding piece of work with the children in the "Special Classes" at Perkins Institution, discusses problems with the superior blind, the crippled blind, and the mentally retarded blind. She emphasizes the necessity of teaching *individuals* rather than a *class* and points out some of the methods to be attempted and fields to be explored. It is a chapter of hope and adventure. For those who believe that schools for the blind should be closed there will be interest in the assets and liabilities of public schools versus schools for the blind for these particular children.

A chapter which should be of help to the case worker in analyzing her own work is that of Margaret Barnard on "The General Case Worker and the Blind." It might be wished that Miss Barnard had been a little more specific with regard to medical social services—particularly the importance of determining that a person is irrevocably blind before educational or social plans are made with that in mind. She brings up a much-disputed point and states that "a general case worker can intelligently include within his case load families where there is a blind person, either as parent or child." Granted that that is true, the question is raised as to whether or not the blind parent or child is not frequently overlooked unless there is special emphasis on that phase of the program.

As in other lines of social work, there has been with blind programs too little effort to assist the community in initiating and supporting public programs. The state of Washington has been outstanding in its efforts and accomplishments in this respect. In the chapter on "Methods of Community Participation," Mrs. Hardin suggests ways in which the Lions clubs, Junior Federation of Women's clubs, and State Advisory committees have functioned in actual projects and in educational value to the rest of the community. In some sections the blind are voluble in their criticisms that programs for the blind are carried on without active support of the blind as a whole and without being consulted as to what their real needs are. It is a point worthy of consideration; possibly at a later time we may learn how this is met both in the state of Washington and in other states.

Employment, which is an urgent problem, is discussed by Mr. Broun. Many take exception to his belief that one of the requirements for a placement agent is that he shall be blind, but one cannot take exception to the practical way in which he believes industrial placement problems should be approached.

One regrets that there is not more to say regarding actual statistics on blindness, but Miss McKay points out the problems involved in obtaining accurate and comparable figures and gives specific suggestions as to how more adequate statistics may be obtained. The problem of comparable statistics will always be with us as long as each state is allowed to set up its own definition of need, blindness, and similar requirements. It is encouraging to note that assistance for the blind functions under the Social Security Act in all but seven states. Although statistics gathered from these figures may not be representative of the total blind population, it should at least shed considerable light on causes of blindness

and other social factors about which there has been a dearth of factual data. One of the most far reaching of Miss McKay's suggestions as to methods of securing adequate and reliable statistics is the recommendation that some type of federal or national supervision be established to insure uniformity of procedure and adequacy of reporting.

The book closes with a chapter by Miss Hoey on "Aid to the Blind under the Social Security Act." There is some discussion of the programs under which the blind are potential beneficiaries such as old age and survivors' insurance, unemployment compensation, and vocational rehabilitation. With regard to the status of aid to the blind, Miss Hoey not only very well summarizes the requirements of an approvable state plan but, equally important, she gives the Social Security Board's interpretations of the requirements in the federal law. These interpretations are of special interest to persons concerned with the medical phase of blindness and conservation of vision.

There is much of interest in the discussion of the education of the deaf-blind, of dog guides for the blind, as well as in other topics it has not been possible to mention. This volume, with its short list of suggested readings after each chapter, gives an excellent background for the understanding of specific phases of work and for the most part would be of value and interest to lay persons as well well as to professional workers.

RUTH DOUGLASS

COOK COUNTY BUREAU OF PUBLIC WELFARE

Everyone's Children, Nobody's Child. By JUSTINE WISE POLIER. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941. Pp. xv+330. $2.75.

Children in Court. By MALCOLM HATFIELD. New York: Paebar Co., Inc., 1938. Pp. ix+184. $2.00.

In 1912 a report of one of the very early studies of the juvenile court concluded with the following statement:

> . . . . The most important lesson to be learned from any study of the juvenile court in its relation to the delinquent child is that the only way of curing delinquency is to prevent it. . . . . As the community comes to understand the obligation which rests upon it to abolish the causes of delinquency, one may hope that new methods of conservation may be devised to take the place of the old waste of child life. By such means may be builded a stronghold of good citizenship and noble, competent living, and when that stronghold shall have been erected, into it will be found builded the lives of the neglected children . . . . through whose wrongs, laid bare by the machinery of the juvenile court, greater wisdom and greater gentleness have been acquired.[1]

Those words were written nearly thirty years ago, and today judges of juvenile courts in many parts of the country are calling attention to the fact that, in spite of the devoted effort expended in connection with the juvenile courts of the

[1] *The Delinquent Child and the Home* (Russell Sage Foundation, 1912), p. 177.

country, miserable and helpless childhood is still dealt with without adequate wisdom and with a kindness not always guided by professional competence.

Magistrate Polier and Judge Hatfield are anxious to call the attention of students of child welfare to the same problems with which the authors of the study mentioned above attempted to deal. The two magistrates approach the problems with different methods.

Judge Hatfield, who presides over the Probate and Juvenile courts in St. Joseph, Michigan, who has been a member of the Michigan Corrections Commission and who thus is informed with reference to the nature of the services made available in the state institutions, organizes his material in the form of paragraphs the significance of which is indicated by brief headings. These paragraphs, in each of which Judge Hatfield attempts to portray a special weakness in the situation out of which the children before him in court have come, are organized under the general headings of "The Home," "The School," "The Church," "The Community," "The Government," and "Miscellaneous." He has selected a very large number of illustrative cases. From each of these he extracts what he would have the reader think is perhaps the predominant factor. From these paragraphs the failures on the part of the institutions and agencies and authorities to which reference has been made are portrayed with vivid emphasis, and again we have convincing testimony to the effect that in many American communities today factors contributing to the dependency and delinquency of children are allowed to persist even when they are so obvious that they should command swift action looking toward their removal.

Magistrate Polier's contribution is much more elaborate. One of Mayor La Guardia's important appointments to the bench in New York, highly qualified not only by way of education, both cultural and professional, but by experience, quick in her sympathy and independent in her thinking, she, too, wishes to hold up for public scrutiny the institutions and agencies representing not only efforts devoted to the development of the juvenile court or the court of domestic relations, as it seems to be in New York, but also the wider range of facilities and resources supposedly directed toward the protection of children and the prevention of their misconduct. Magistrate Polier incloses her immediate discussion of the court between two rather elaborate surveys of what she calls, first, "Our American Heritage," and second, "Our English Heritage." In the first discussion she deals particularly with the development under the Poor Law of the almshouse, orphan asylum, and later foster-home provision for dependent, neglected, and problem children. In the latter review she takes the reader back to the days of the English Poor Law and brings out the differences of opinion with reference to the relationship between child welfare services and general Poor Law reform. Magistrate Polier wants the reader to focus attention upon the children who in spite of the development of multifarious agencies and institutions and authorities and who may be perhaps characterized as she characterizes them, the children of the state which undertakes to exercise through

the juvenile court a superparental power. She points out, however, and makes very clear that while the doctrine of public responsibility has been accepted, the implementing of the resulting undertakings is so imperfect that the child with reference to whom the public's right to intervene would be acknowledged is still the victim of such inadequate understanding and care that he can be truthfully characterized as "nobody's child."

It is interesting to the student of these problems that neither magistrate calls attention to the obvious deficiencies in the judicial system—to the fact that even Magistrate Polier in New York exercises a highly local jurisdiction. To be sure, her term is a long term, but it is for a specific period fixed by the constitution and statutes regulating the judicial administration in New York. Judge Hatfield's experience likewise is with a particular court for a particular time in a particular county. Both are kind, both are wise, both are anxious to be of service to these children, but neither calls attention to the fact that the conditions under which the children are dealt with are largely determined by local authorities and are affected by local attitudes. One covets for both these kindly judges a consciousness of responsibility that will endure so long that the experiences of today may be embodied in greater skills day after tomorrow and also a kind of influence upon the agencies and authorities on which they must rely for carrying out their decisions that will mean actual reconstruction in the lives of many children and in the work of many of those agencies and authorities. The conditions out of which much of the misery of the children comes are determined by forces as wide as the nation, if their origin is not to be found beyond the seas. From neither of the judges, however, comes a suggestion of the absurdity of attempting to deal with these conditions through local authorities.

To the student who appreciates the contributions made by these judges and is grateful for their penetrating and sympathetic revelation of the miseries with which they try to deal comes the consciousness of the incalculable number of jurisdictions in which all these forms of misery exist and there is no sympathetic glance and no revealing voice.

S. P. B.

Heredity and Social Problems. By L. L. BURLINGAME. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1940. Pp. xi+369. $3.50.

This is an addition to the well-known series of the Zoölogical Sciences published by this company, and the author is professor of biology at Stanford University. The volume grew from a series of lectures delivered to the students of that University and undertaken by the writer to further "the growing rapproachement between the biological and the social sciences."

An introductory chapter gives a statement of general principles and concludes with a "Prospectus," which gives a summary of the chapters of the book. This is an unusual and helpful practice which might well be followed in many text-

books. The following nine chapters give a simple, authentic, and readable account of genetic principles. This section has in mind the needs and aims of the social science student, but includes much information on biology in general. The remainder of the book becomes of increasing interest to the social science student, as the author passes from a discussion of the heredity of physical traits and intelligence to the genetic aspects of race, population, and problems of war and migration.

He then passes from the general to the particular and continues with chapters on the genetics of mental deficiency, the distribution of intelligence, general medical disorders, "insanity," and crime. The concluding chapter deals with a discussion of heredity in education and government.

Two chapters call for special comment—those on "The Genetics of Mental Deficiency" and "Heredity in Insanity and Crime." It is to be regretted that the author did not bend to whatever psychiatric opinion he may have consulted on these two chapters. The title alone of the latter chapter mentioned justifies this criticism. In all humility and respect to the author, it might be that the second half of the volume would benefit if it had been written with the help of more advice from psychiatric or sociological colleagues. Indeed, the value of the book would be enhanced, and it would more fully achieve its laudable aims if part of the latter half were re-written in collaboration with one or the other of these fellow-scientists.

The volume is profusely illustrated with diagrams, tables, and some photographs. A special feature worthy of commendation is the detailed summary of contents at the end of each chapter. Students of the social sciences will find this a valuable introduction and source of reference, and students of biology interested in matters of human welfare would be well advised to digest the contents.

DAVID SLIGHT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Social Welfare in the Catholic Church: Organization and Planning through Diocesan Bureaus. By MARGUERITE T. BOYLAN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. xv+363. $3.00.

This book is based upon materials used in the author's doctoral dissertation at Fordham University. It is divided into three main sections: Part I treats "The Nature and Development of Diocesan Bureaus," Part II describes "Catholic Charities, Diocese of Brooklyn," and Part III is called "Retrospect and Prospect." About one-half of the content relates to a description of the work of Catholic Charities of Brooklyn, and separate chapters in this section deal with family welfare, protective care and the courts, trends in child welfare, social group work, and health. With three decades of experience with Catholic social agencies, the author has witnessed the varying degrees of orientation of Catholic social agency programs to the dynamics of evolutionary social and economic developments.

Perhaps Miss Boylan's outstanding contribution is her stern insistence upon sound personnel standards and personnel practices. The chapter on "Personnel and Training" is one of the most forthright statements of the kind made by recent Catholic writers; the author refuses to recognize any alternative to "trained social workers, under competent and well-qualified leadership" for the staffs of diocesan bureaus of social welfare. After a description of the diocesan bureau from the functional standpoint, the need for effective control of the quasi-autonomous institutions and agencies is emphasized. The task of unifying the practices of the multiplicity of Catholic agencies in the child welfare field in terms of changing and improved standards of care underlines this need. Catholic agencies have made a real contribution to the field of children's care, and especially in the New York metropolitan area the improvements both in services and in policies have been due largely to the interpretive and educational work of the diocesan bureaus, implemented by the authority of the bishops.

Professional social workers would welcome a book which would undertake to define and analyze some of the basic questions which in a changing era flow from the broad term "social welfare in the Catholic Church," and because of the scarcity of good literature in this field one regrets that the author seemingly has focused her attentions elsewhere, perhaps on the general public. Consequently, the professional social worker and the social-work student will not find here a realistic appraisal of the vexing issues involved in such questions as the subsidy system, the place of volunteers, and the lines of demarcation between the functions of private and public social agencies. The author refers to all three, but for the most part in dogmatic terms. The rather infrequent interpretations are marred by vague clichès. Curiously, in the chapter on "Finances" little attention is paid to tax funds and their extensive use in New York City, where public funds provide the major share of the support of nine-tenths of the children under care of private agencies. Certain obvious types of cases are specified as requiring professional treatment as differentiated from volunteer service, but this reviewer questions whether the role in treatment areas of such organizations as the St. Vincent de Paul and the Big Brother agencies need have been handled so timidly. With regard to public and private social work, the author recognizes the permanent status of the public departments, although apparently the undefined trait of "beneficence" is considered to be a prerogative of the private agency and is regarded as a compelling factor in the allocation of responsibilities. In view of the scope suggested by the title, the reviewer does not believe these pertinent topics have received adequate treatment.

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME FRANK T. FLYNN

Edith Cavell. By HELEN JUDSON. New York: Macmillan Co., 1941. Pp. 288. $2.50.

In the Foreword the author states that the comment of Bernard Shaw, "Edith, like Joan, was an arch heretic," challenged her to search for the true

story of Edith Cavell. This search included all available material: visiting her relatives and friends in England, as well as those who had worked with her professionally; interviewing one who had worked untiringly to save her life; and a careful study of the family background and early environment that had shaped a personality for serving mankind so nobly. Here is the story of the incidents in her life that led to her tragic death and left a heritage upon which the profession of nursing can look reverently.

A desire for service was the motivating force that influenced Edith Cavell to turn to nursing as a career after she had served as a governess to a Belgian family in Brussels for five years.

Because of a retiring shyness, Edith Cavell was never a conspicuous figure in hospital circles. However, she had self-confidence, professional ambition, and the gift of leadership. Because of her excellent record as a nurse, and through the influence of the Belgian family whom she had served as a governess, she was chosen to establish a school of modern nursing for a Brussels clinic. Up to this (1907), nursing in Belgium was in the same deplorable state that Florence Nightingale had discovered in England and that Dickens had pictured in his memorable character of Sarah Gamp. Edith Cavell's indomitable will and her understanding of the Belgian people enabled her to establish a modern school of nursing in a country dominated by the idea that nursing was beneath the dignity of a gentlewoman.

In spite of the many obstacles both great and petty that made her work discouraging and arduous, she had established her school of nursing (l'école belge d'infirmières diplomées) on a secure basis when the World War began. The account then deals with the tragic events and circumstances that led her to carry out the dangerous role of nursing allied soldiers and helping them to escape to Holland through the aid of a secret organization made up of many prominent Belgians banded together for this purpose. The evidence brought against her, which under the then existing German Military Code was not sufficient to condemn her to death, is ably presented. The pleas for clemency made by the United States and Spanish legislation are dramatically told.

The story is told realistically with strengths and weakness portrayed, the outstanding quality being a willingness to undergo any hardship or self-sacrifice in order that the sick might receive every possible care and consideration.

The book is of great interest to nurses and because of the situation in the world today it should also be of interest to those who are concerned about world issues, as the events which took place in occupied Belgium during the first World War bear a striking similarity to the situation in today's conquered countries.

MARY DUNWIDDIE

COUNTRY HOME FOR CONVALESCENT CRIPPLED CHILDREN

Statistical Activities of the American Nations, 1940: A Compendium of the Statistical Services and Activities in Twenty-two Nations of the Western Hemisphere Together with Information concerning Statistical Personnel in These Nations. Edited by ELIZABETH PHELPS. Washington, D.C.: Inter-American Statistical Institute, 1941. Pp. xxi+842. $2.00.

An outstanding characteristic of contemporary national life is the drive to promote hemispheric solidarity. This program looms large, not only in the political arena, but also on the cultural front. The present volume represents one of several important attempts in the field of scholarship to promote the intellectual co-operation now believed to be essential if collective progress in the Americas is to be accelerated.

The International Statistical Institute, founded in 1885 (and preceded by international congresses held intermittently since 1853) has now reached a respectable maturity. As far as this country is concerned, however, its meetings have fostered relationships between the United States and Europe rather than among the sovereign republics of the New World. The twenty-fifth meeting of the International Institute, scheduled to be held in this country in 1940, was necessarily postponed because of war. In lieu of the scheduled meeting a statistical section was added to the Eighth American Scientific Congress, which convened in the United States in May, 1940. Out of this meeting grew the plans for the Inter-American Statistical Institute. Although the new organization is still in the embryo, its success in bringing out this initial volume augers well for future achievements and for closer co-operation among scientists and administrators on this side of the Atlantic.

The plan of the volume follows a familiar pattern. A responsible person in each of the twenty-two American nations submitted an article describing the statistical facilities and activities in his country. Articles in Spanish or Portuguese are preceded by concise summaries of the content in English. Summaries in Spanish precede the articles on Canada, Haiti, and the United States. These articles are followed by a directory that gives biographical data concerning statistical personnel in each country.

The summaries of the articles are very interesting. In general, they provide information for each country on the following points: statistical educational facilities; statistical library facilities; statistical societies or associations; principal nonofficial or semi-official statistical agencies and their serial publications; system of official statistics; national population censuses; principal government agencies which compile statistics; and official statistical publications.

In general, census activities have lagged in this hemisphere. Some countries have never published an official enumeration of the population. In very few have the enumerations followed one another at regular decennial intervals. On "Census Day" in Honduras, citizens are required to remain at home until

enumerated and can then venture onto the street only if armed with a ticket to prove they have already been counted.

Great variations prevail with respect to facilities and methods. In some countries there is no mechanical equipment for tabulating. Other countries with large populations report only one or two tabulating or sorting machines. In classifying data some countries develop independent terminology and others adhere to recognized systems such as the International List of Causes of Death and the Brussels International Nomenclature (for foreign trade). International comparisons, however, except with respect to a very few items, appear to be mainly a development of the future. Internal comparability over a reasonably long period appears to have been approximated in certain fields only in Canada, Chile, and the United States.

The article on the United States is not, like the others, the product of one pen. It is a composite product consisting of twenty-three brief contributions, each prepared by a specialist in a particular field. As might be expected, some of these sections suffer from overcondensation.

Great credit is due the editor for bringing to completion this difficult task. Publication was made possible through funds contributed by an impressive list of United States business corporations.

WAYNE MCMILLEN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A Survey of Hospital Services and Finances in the Philadelphia Area. Sponsored by the HOSPITAL COUNCIL OF PHILADELPHIA. Philadelphia: Community Fund, 1939. Pp. 59. $1.00.

This survey of the hospital facilities available to the people of the Philadelphia area was conducted during the year 1938, with Dr. C. Rufus Rorem serving as consultant and as author of the report. The kinds and volume of service rendered; the amount and distribution of capital investment; the total costs of hospitalization and sources of income; types of institutions in relation to types of income; operating costs and patient fees, etc., were included in the study.

The survey arose out of a re-examination of the method for allocating appropriations to the hospitals from the Community Fund of Philadelphia. The trustees of the fund decided that "a general view of hospital services and finances should precede intensive efforts to improve the efficiency of specific institutions or the comparability of their financial experience."

This statement serves to emphasize how unutterably slow is the process by which a standard system of cost accounting within a group of hospitals is made effective. Pennsylvania, with a system of state aid to hospitals, shared by a large number of the hospitals surveyed, and a state audit at regular intervals covering half a century and more, has not accomplished this much to be desired result.

This survey deals chiefly with, and attempts to "throw light upon, the pub-

lic's expenditures for hospital care rather than the hospital's expenditures for operation and fixed charges."

It would appear from the text that the major objective was to find ways and means by which hospital income might be increased or at least stabilized. There is no evaluation of quality and volume of service. This limitation was placed upon the scope of the survey and was not an oversight.

A "hospital" was defined as "an institution providing bed care with medical diagnosis and treatment and excluding those for ambulatory or custodial service." This eliminates agencies such as independent clinics, convalescent and rest homes, and homes for the aged. In addition, certain licensed institutions were not included.

A questionnaire provided the information on which the survey was based, and 67 hospitals participated, of which 11 were classed as church hospitals; 4 governmental, federal, and city; 3 proprietary corporations; and 49 nonprofit associations. The hospitals serving a population of about 2,500,000 have a total bed capacity of 21,244 and 1,485 bassinets. During 1937 they received approximately 222,000 cases, and 28,000 infants were born in these hospitals. There were 5,659,000 patient-days of services given.

The operating expenses, excluding any capital outlay, was (for 56 institutions reporting and representing about 96 per cent of the aggregate bed capacity) $19,000,000. A conservative estimate covering capital outlay, debt service, and depreciation increased the total expenditures to about $24,000,000. The operating income of the 56 hospitals was derived from the following sources: from patients 49 per cent; from endowments 10 per cent; governments (federal, state, county, and city) 30 per cent; private contributions 8½ per cent; and 2½ per cent from miscellaneous sources.

There was shown to be a daily average of 5,741 vacant beds, of which 5,228 were in the general and special acute and isolation hospitals, suggesting that there is much room for expansion of service or adaptation of present unused facilities for other purposes; as, for example, adaptation of unused "acute" facilities for chronic and convalescent services, which are actually overtaxed.

The report states that there is "no intention of establishing categorical conclusions or to set up a qualitative scale of measuring hospital service," but certain conclusions and recommendations are offered such as: that Philadelphia does not need more hospitals but better support for those now in existence; that facilities for long-time care are overcrowded; that there is need of greater coordination of the services for mental cases; that there is great need for coordination of "acute" hospital service, and the suggestion is made that small hospitals might be adapted to the care of convalescents and obstetrical cases.

Philadelphia already enjoys about 10 per cent of the endowment income of all hospitals in the United States, and the report is gloomy as to any possible increases in the immediate future.

The principle of governmental support of nongovernmental hospitals is referred to as "a rational method," and it is suggested that a further study of the

problem would be an appropriate supplement to this present survey. Much study has already been given to this subject in years past. When and if it is again studied, particular attention should be directed to the method by which these governmental grants are to be made, for benefits to the hospitals may be entirely offset, in terms of the public good, by the logrolling which enters into the appropriation method.

The absurdity of excluding church hospitals from the benefits of state aid for the care of the indigent sick is referred to, and the principles involved should certainly be reconsidered.

The report states that the $9,000,000 now received by the hospitals from patients amounts to about one cent per day per person per year (or $3.60 per year) and calls attention to the desirability of developing hospital service plans with particular reference to the low-income group.

Again, the need is stated for more complete and uniform financial accounting among the hospitals of Philadelphia, and this criticism has a nationwide application.

One is somewhat confused in reading the text of the report, and it should be pointed out that the source of hospital income, coming from government, which is stated at 30 per cent of all income, is chiefly for the support of federal and city institutions. Only 12 per cent of the total income of the nonprofit hospital associations is actually derived from tax sources.

The 5,741 average of "empty beds" includes those in the city contagious disease hospital, and this distorts the picture, since the fluctuation in occupancy in such hospitals is always extreme and in the absence of epidemic, the beds may remain idle for long periods.

Since the completion of the survey, the city mental hospital has been taken over by the state, which changes considerably the actual distributions of hospital operating costs, but which may help to bring about better co-ordination of services in the field of mental disease.

The excessively low operating costs of all the city-owned hospitals is criticized, and it is estimated that to bring them up to minimum standards their operation would require at least an additional $2,300,000 per year.

The approach to the hospital problem in terms of sources of income rather than in terms of operative costs is an interesting one.

ELLEN C. POTTER, M.D.

DEPARTMENT OF INSTITUTIONS AND
AGENCIES OF NEW JERSEY
TRENTON

The Administration of Public Recreation. By GEORGE HJELTE. New York: Macmillan Co., 1940. Pp. xv+416. $3.00.

Recreation administrators and staff members, teachers and students in professional schools, and those interested in the rapidly developing field of public recreation will welcome this much-needed volume.

Mr. Hjelte is well known in the field of recreation. His leadership in many conference groups, several professional bodies, and as a staff member of two schools, plus his experience as the head of several important recreation systems, qualifies him eminently for this publication.

Part One deals with "Administrative Organization and Relationships of Recreation." In addition to the usual background material, Mr. Hjelte makes a distinctive contribution in his two chapters on "Recreation as a Function of Government" and the "Organization of the Function of Recreation." He presents in convenient form examples and descriptive material on the several plans of organization municipal governments now use for recreation. Teachers will welcome the critical evaluation of the several prevailing types of organization and their accompanying charts. The material given on public schools and recreation is one of the most challenging chapters. It moves beyond the usual lament expressed by many authors that schools are not being used more widely for recreational purposes and shows to what extent they are being used and the distinctive advantages in such usage. Other material in Part One covers such topics as county and rural recreation, the co-ordination of local recreation agencies and recreation in relation to city planning, the city charter, city ordinances, and the acquisition of recreation property. It may be presumed that Part One was the most difficult part of the manuscript to prepare and at the same time the most useful for professional schools.

Part Two deals with the administration of a recreation department. Here it is possible for Mr. Hjelte to present material tested by his own experience and the experiences of his colleagues in administrative positions. Material is offered on the internal organization of a recreation department, financing community recreation, accounting, budget-making, records, maintenance and construction, and program planning and control. This material is not unusual or distinctive from an administrative standpoint. The important contribution is the specific nature of the material and the direct application to recreation. Mr. Hjelte's clear-cut philosophy of administration may be implied here but it is not clear. The point of departure is largely that of forms and mechanics rather than that of process. No mention is made of the importance of democratic process in administration. Recreation of all fields must be sure of its democratic bases both in participation and in administration. The chapter on "Program Planning and Control" is seemingly *activity* rather than *person* centered. It does not show much if any concern for certain emerging insights about what persons need and how they grow and develop through group experiences. It may be argued that this book is centered on administration, hence the program material need not necessarily be pronounced. Nonetheless, administrators often determine the philosophy and the content of program; therefore, it is hoped that administrators will not look upon this program chapter as the last word but will seek other material.

Part Three deals with related problems of recreation administration, including personnel, professional education, public relations and administrative re-

search. Here the author has drawn liberally from previous reports of the National Recreation Association and from recent conferences on professional training for recreation.

The book has a carefully selected bibliography included at the end of each chapter. In so far as style is concerned, professional workers will find it thorough and scholarly; students will find it easy to read and study.

H. B. TRECKER

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

The American Miners' Association: A Record of the Origin of Coal Miners' Unions in the United States. By EDWARD A. WIECK. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1940. Pp. 330. $2.00.

As a forerunner not only of the United Mine Workers of America but of the modern trade-union movement in the United States, the American Miners' Association, growing from a strike in 1861, deserves special study. The author, Edward A. Wieck, research associate in the Department of Industrial Studies of the Russell Sage Foundation since 1934, has produced a scholarly work which has benefited inestimably from the fact that he himself was for many years a coal miner and an active participant in the affairs of the United Mine Workers in Illinois.

The life of the American Miners' Association as such was brief. It grew from a strike in the St. Clair County coal-mining district of Illinois in 1861 and began to decline in 1865. After 1867 only local lodges survived. But its contributions to modern trade-union ideas and techniques entitle it to an important place in labor history.

The study traces the origin and backgrounds of the Association from the British Isles, whence came many miners who possessed a tradition of union organization, to the United States, where coal, together with iron and steel and transportation, was becoming indispensable to the shift from an agricultural to an industrial economy. In such a situation the fact that individual unions failed to survive meant little because economic factors were present which produced other unions to take their places.

Aside from inadequate earnings, the conditions stimulating miners' organizations in the sixties included the dishonest weighing of coal, the abuses attendant on the development of company stores and company houses, the lack of ventilation of mines, and the absence of protection from accidents. Since coal mining is still among the most hazardous industries in the United States, despite great advances in safety techniques, since coal miners' unions feel it necessary to hire their own checkweighman, and since company housing and company stores still exist, the conditions which developed coal miners' unions in the past would seem still to stimulate organization where they are weak and to demand that where they are strong they remain so.

Although the American Miners' Association suffered from the business conditions succeeding the end of the Civil War, its decline was more immediately due to factionalism—apparently involving personalities more than issues—which ended the existence of its influential publication. After this event it died out as a national organization.

The author points out that although labor had made some progress in organization during the thirties and forties of the nineteenth century, this experience was not a guide to the labor movement of the sixties chiefly because of changes in our industrial life and the wider range of competition resulting from better transportation facilities.

This study warrants the attention of students and members of the American labor movement.

MIRIAM NOLL

U.S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Juvenile Delinquency: A Comparative Study of the Position in Liverpool and England and Wales. By J. H. BAGOT, M.A. London: Jonathan Cape, 1941. Pp. 93. 5*s*.

Juvenile delinquency is rising sharply in England, as it did in the previous war, and the problem is causing grave concern in that country. After the termination of the previous war the rate of delinquency dropped, but over the past decade a new and continuous rise has appeared. This brief publication deals with delinquency and its treatment in Liverpool in 1934 and 1936, in the middle period of the continued increase. The author has issued a timely study of some of the more basic problems of juvenile court treatment which must be considered in sound attempts to meet the new emergency.

The juvenile court cases studied were those "found guilty of an indictable offence," principally such acts as larceny and burglary, and excluding other delinquencies and "children in need of care and protection." Apparently this questionable limitation was applied to make the tabulations comparable to other areas and time periods, as the general police statistics on juvenile delinquency are of that nature. The first analyses consist of tabulations by the "type of offence," value of goods taken, etc., data which are not the most useful for constructive thinking about the problems of children. The chapter on the treatment of delinquents in Liverpool brings out the local problems of lack of probation officers, negative attitudes of some of the judges toward probation, and the persistence of the practice of fining juveniles. The tabulation of juvenile court treatment for all of England and Wales in 1936 shows that about one-half of the cases received probation, and approximately one-quarter were dismissed without supervision. Ten per cent were sent to industrial schools, a small proportion were fined (7.5 per cent), and a very small group were whipped (0.6 per cent).

The analysis of personal characteristics and of family and environmental

backgrounds revealed a picture of neglected children of the poor, dwelling in substandard areas of the city. The author found that the continuous rise in delinquency over the past decade, however, was caused mainly by changes in administration, such as the growth of a greater disposition for police, family members, etc., to bring children before the juvenile court. A brief discussion of the effects of the present war is included in the work, detailing a sharp rise in juvenile delinquency. The author suggests an increase in probation personnel and experimentation with fresh methods to cope with this increasingly heavy new problem.

American readers would probably welcome the inclusion of a treatment of the juvenile court organization, personnel standards, and procedures. But, on the whole, the publication is a useful analysis of juvenile delinquents and their treatment in an urban English area. The statistical data are balanced and interpreted by critical observations.

HOWELL WILLIAMS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

REVIEWS OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

To Prohibit Prostitution within Reasonable Distance of Military and Naval Establishments: Hearings before the Committee on Military Affairs, House of Representatives, 77th Congress, 1st session on H.R. 2475, March 11, 12, and 18, 1941. Washington, D.C., 1941. Pp. 70.

Methods of Rehabilitation of Adult Prostitutes. (League of Nations Official No. C.83.M.43,1939,IV.) Geneva, 1939. Pp. 157.

These two documents deserve thoughtful examination at the present time.

The "Hearings" on the bill introduced by Congressman May of Kentucky, chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, will be of interest to social workers concerned about the welfare aspects of the defense preparations. The bill, giving the secretaries of war and navy power to prohibit prostitution "within such reasonable distance" of military or naval establishments as they "shall determine to be needful to the efficiency, health, and welfare of the Army and Navy" was sponsored by the American Social Hygiene Association, and Dr. William F. Snow, the distinguished general director of the Association, who was the first witness before the Committee, made the following statement:

> Promoters of organized prostitution and other gangsters are now moving in their forces to get all the money they can out of these soldiers, sailors and civilians in these larger training and maneuver areas. Special authority is necessary for the prompt action adapted to each local situation. This bill provides for such authority and action supplementing city, county, and State procedures, which have been satisfactory in many places during normal times, but which cannot be depended on to meet these emergency conditions.

Dr. Snow spoke also of

> the bad effects, both on our young people and our communities generally, if Congress does not aid the States by passing this act and implementing it with whatever trained personnel and appropriations may be necessary to give it full effect. Up to the present time the public has been confused and is becoming increasingly uneasy over the apparent inconsistency of certain opposing individuals who believe in excluding prostitution and sexual promiscuity from military and naval reservations, yet advocate the establishment in neighboring communities of segregated districts or inspected houses of prostitution, whose inmates soldiers and sailors may be encouraged to patronize. The communities from which most of these soldiers and Navy men come do not tolerate such districts or houses. There is no valid argument, in my judgment, for claiming that a boy inducted into the Army under the Selective Service Act, and equipped with a uniform at a training center, is thereby physically, mentally, or morally so changed that the people of the new community into which he goes on leave must provide him with access to

brothels or run the risk of endangering their own women and girls. . . . . Parents and community leaders ask what is being done to protect their boys going into military training, and their girls as well as their boys going into industries essential for defense. The provisions of this bill have had the test of successful use during 1917 to 1919. The necessity for its enactment has become clear during the past 18 months of community, State, and national effort to join with the military authorities to cope with the difficulties of the emergency situation and differing community, city, and State regulations and policies.

In reply to a question as to the power of Congress to legislate regarding areas of government property (e.g., one Congressman asked, "Take Camp Lee, Va. Does the Government have the right to enact a law that would regulate the practice of prostitution in Richmond, Va., some 20 miles away?") Mr. Alan Johnstone, also representing the American Social Hygiene Association, cited the case of *McKinley et al* v. *United States*, 249 U.S. 397, a case which came up from the southern district of Georgia during the World War, in which the Supreme Court held that Congress, under the authority to raise and support armies, may make rules and regulations to protect the health and welfare of the men composing them against the evils of prostitution and may leave the details of such regulations to the Secretary of War.

Miss Lenroot of the United States Children's Bureau, who was an important witness, said that the interest of the Children's Bureau lies in the fact that "prostitution is destructive to family life, spreads venereal disease which constitutes a serious menace to the lives and health of mothers and children, and subjects adolescent boys and girls coming in contact with commercialized vice to most gravely demoralizing influences." Miss Lenroot said:

State and local authorities cannot fully cope with this problem by reason of (1) the fact that the areas around some of our military establishments include territory which crosses State lines; (2) the policies and legislation with reference to prostitution vary greatly as between States and even between localities within the same State; and (3) in rural areas, small towns, and even larger cities, law-enforcement authorities do not have the personnel required to cope with conditions leading to or involved in prostitution, without reinforcement from the Federal Government.

Miss Lenroot presented the results of a study made very recently by the Children's Bureau in areas in Maine, Connecticut, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, Wyoming, and Washington. A summary of her important testimony is given below:

1. In many towns and cities with a normal population of 1,000 to 100,000 rapid increase in population results in a period of disorganization, when community facilities for wholesale recreation and social contacts are extremely limited; men and women, boys and girls, uprooted from normal community ties and associations, find themselves at a loss for desirable leisure-time occupations; and county and municipal authorities are unable to cope adequately with problems of law enforcement and social protection that arise.

2. These conditions give rise to undesirable forms of recreation which often lead to the growth of local unorganized prostitution, and which attract to the community from other areas people operating under organized forms of commercialized vice. Taverns and roadhouses, dine-and-dance halls, trailers, shacks, and tolerated houses cater to or house the business of prostitution.

3. Girls as young as 13, 14, 15 and 16 years are involved in situations leading to prostitution. Organized prostitution requires constant recruiting from inexperienced girls who have failed to receive adequate protection from family and community.

4. In many communities there is no one responsible for keeping young people from participating in undesirable activities or for giving them the various types of special care which their problems demand. The smoky, dim-lit dance hall which was thought to be the hang-out of a part of the community turns out to be fascinating both to the youngsters of the town and to the young trainees who have come to the area.

5. Sometimes the area within easy reach of a military establishment includes parts of two or more States, and attempts to clean up one part of the areas may result in increased trouble in a nearby town across State lines. Thus the problem is interstate in character. Even within the same State, frequently several local jurisdictions—counties, towns and cities—are involved.

6. Tolerated or licensed districts result in the exposure of far greater numbers of men in the Military or Naval Establishment to the physical and moral evils of prostitution than is the case when prostitution is confined to a minimum of clandestine operations.

7. These same districts constitute a grave danger to the families and the young people of the communities in which they are located.

The recommendations of the Children's Bureau were as follows:

Legislation aimed toward the suppression of prostitution should be followed by adequate provision for its administration. This involves:

1. Law enforcement by qualified personnel.

2. Development, as part of or in cooperation with local law-enforcement agencies, of protective and preventive services for young people by persons skilled in social work, through participation in inspection of commercialized recreation, enforcement of laws for the protection of youth, and observation of conditions resulting in the exploitation of young people, and through identification and referral to appropriate social agencies of children and young people in need of individual guidance and treatment.

3. Social guidance and treatment by child welfare workers for boys and girls in situations of social danger. State public welfare departments are now cooperating with county agencies in a limited number of areas in the development of child-welfare services that include protective services for children and youth in danger of becoming delinquent. Such services should be greatly expanded and strengthened.

4. Continued expansion of public-health measures for combating venereal disease. Medical social service should be provided in connection with venereal disease clinics as rapidly as possible.

5. Education of the public as to the policies and measures adopted.

Other witnesses included Colonel John Taylor, representing the American Legion; Mayor La Guardia of New York, representing the United States Conference of Mayors; Mr. Charles P. Taft, assistant co-ordinator of health and welfare activities; the chief of chaplains of the Army and Navy, Dr. Arthur McCormack; the state health officer of Kentucky, and others.

The League of Nations Enquiry into the rehabilitation of prostitutes has been conducted by the League's Committee on Social Questions since 1934. The results of this inquiry are now being published in four parts. "Prostitutes: Their Early Lives" (Part I) and "Social Services and Venereal Disease" (Part II), which have already appeared, and this volume on "Methods of Rehabilitation of Adult Prostitutes" (Part III), which completes the study and also contains the "Conclusions and Recommendations" (Part IV), which, in the opinion of the Advisory Committee on Social Questions, emerge from the whole inquiry.

The information contained in this report was assembled through two questionnaires sent out to governments and voluntary organizations by the League of Nations Committee. Their principal aim was to discover what social services existed for the rehabilitation of adult prostitutes, how they were financed and organized, the methods used, the difficulties encountered, and the results attained. The Committee points out that although social services for adult prostitutes exist, they are greatly outnumbered by those for minors. Many countries with a state system of assistance and protection for girls who are on the streets or in moral danger, have no organization to help adult prostitutes.

The Committee thinks that this problem had received little attention because the most recent developments in social service have been toward preventive rather than curative action.

Often the replies to the questionnaire stated that, although the services they described assisted women who asked for help, their principal work was preventive. This was particularly noticeable in the countries where social services have not been long in existence. They often have to operate very economically and it is considered that better results are obtained by concentrating on prevention rather than on reform and rehabilitation. Again since poverty, overcrowding and low wages are clearly contributory causes of prostitution, many investigators have felt that measures of general social reform to raise the standard of living and increase security are likely to be more effective than any special measures of assistance.

These documents will be useful at the present time.

E. A.

National Defense Migration: Hearings before the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, March 24–26, 1941, 77th Congress, 1st session. Pp. 4288–4822.

This volume is one of the series issued by the Tolan Committee To Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens. The name of the Committee has been changed as indicated in the title listed above, but the "hearings" in this volume were really held before the name of the Committee had been changed and before it had been authorized to continue to January 3, 1943. Actually the hearings in this volume related to the interest in the defense activities which was an inevitable development of the Committee's work. Two reports regarding conditions affecting mothers, children, and youth in defense

areas were submitted by Miss Lenroot of the United States Children's Bureau, and there are several reports from representatives of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Travelers Aid Association, Farm Security Administration, and other important agencies. It is good news that the Tolan Committee is to continue, but it is to be hoped that the destitute migrants outside the defense areas will not be forgotten.

Administrative Procedure in Government Agencies: Report of the Committee on Administrative Procedure. (Senate Doc. 8, 77th Cong., 1st sess.) Washington, D.C., 1941. Pp. viii+474. $0.50.

The work of this Committee, appointed by the attorney-general in 1939 at the request of the President, "to investigate the need for procedural reform in various administrative tribunals and to suggest improvement therein," is not only an outstanding contribution to the study of administrative law but it is also of great importance to the social welfare group.

It is "the result of a comprehensive study of administrative procedures in the various agencies of the Federal Government." Many recommendations are offered for specific improvements in procedure to be made administratively by the agencies, and there are also many general recommendations which "could appropriately be made the subject of legislation." These recommendations are all reduced to specific terms in a draft bill, for which Attorney-General Jackson asks "favorable consideration" from the Congress.

A review of origins and development points out that "the administrative process in the Federal Government is . . . . as old as the Government itself; and its growth has been virtually as steady as that of the Statutes at Large."

How many federal administrative agencies are there today? This depends, of course, on the definition as to what constitutes an "agency" as well as on the concept applied in designating a particular agency as "administrative." The Committee has regarded as the distinguishing feature of an "administrative" agency the power to determine, either by rule or by decision, private rights and obligations. If the term applies not only to the executive departments but to subdivisions usually called "bureaus," "services," and "offices," there are now fifty-one.

The *Report* describes the development of the administrative process, "the basic necessities of organization and procedure, the methods of informal and formal adjudication, rule-making procedures, and judicial review." Attention is called to "the defects found in the rule-making and adjudicatory aspects of administrative process," and suggestions are made regarding corrections for these defects.

The Committee selected for special examination the agencies which by their power to make rules and regulations and by adjudication affect private interests in a substantial way. The agencies with which social workers and welfare stu-

dents are especially concerned are the Immigration and Naturalization Service in the Department of Justice; the Division of Public Contracts, Wage and Hour Division, and the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor; the Social Security Board and Public Health Service in the Federal Security Agency; the National Labor Relations Board, and the Veterans' Administration.

The treatment by the Committee of the Children's Bureau in its administration of the Fair Labor Standards Act is very respectful. The procedures adopted by the Wage and Hour Division are described at length. The Committee refers to the Bureau's "thorough utilization of investigatory and conference methods combined with its expert knowledge." The Committee recommends that the Bureau continue its procedures and suggests only that in all cases it prepare to hold hearings but actually should hold hearings only if notice is previously sent out to indicate that there have been factual gaps or that "there are important disagreements either upon the facts contained in the report or upon the desirability of the proposal" formulated by the Bureau (p. 150).

The Committee's attention to the Social Security Board is confined altogether to the procedure when withdrawal of funds from states suggests itself as a remedy for inadequate co-operation on the part of the state. The Committee suggests that the Social Security Board, when giving the state notice of a proposed hearing, should add to its earlier procedures a supply of copies of the documentary evidence to be submitted in connection with the charges against the state. If this practice were attempted, the hearing itself "might then well consist principally of the state's explanation and rebuttal of the charges" except to the extent that the Board might find it necessary to bring the reports previously submitted down to date.

With reference to the National Labor Relations Board, the Committee recommends especially that the power to initiate action by the issuance of complaints be delegated to regional directors or other responsible officers in order to achieve a large degree of internal separation. The Committee recommends that complaints be drawn with care and be as specific as possible. This would involve the rescinding of instructions now in effect with reference to the conduct of the field staff. The Committee agrees that proof of uncontested issues may be dispensed with but recommends that the practice which has persisted in some regions of furnishing the Board's trial attorneys with a supply of blank subpoenas be abandoned. This recommendation is based on the idea that the regional director should impose uniform standards for all parties. The Committee criticizes the practice of the Board which has been due to budgetary limitations and lack of time in accordance with which the Board's attorneys do not present argument or file briefs with the hearing officer or with the Board. Their participation in a case ends with the close of the hearing. The Committee recommends that as soon as sufficient funds are available the Board's attorneys be instructed to argue orally in support of their positions and, where necessary, to file exceptions to the hearing officer's findings and decisions.

In the case of the Veterans' Administration (p. 130), again, a fear of a special hardship for the informant and serious consequences in the community, in the case of a widow whose conduct seems to justify withdrawing her grant, has resulted in inadequate previous notice of the charges to be brought against her. Here again, in the view of the Committee, "the interests of the accused seem paramount" and the Committee recommends that "in all cases involving forfeiture of benefits, full notice be given, and that in adultery cases, the policy of nondisclosure of information and identity of informants be abandoned."

In connection with the Division of Public Contracts of the Department of Labor (p. 128), for example, the Committee finds fault with the lack of specific detail characteristic of the complaints brought by that authority against employers. The reason for this deficiency in the practice of the Division is the fear of exposing employees to reprisals by employers. It is, perhaps, strange that the Committee thinks that reliance may be placed on an amendment to the statute forbidding the discharge or other discrimination in the case of an employee who has filed charges against his employer or given testimony under the Act!

The recommendations of the Committee take on two aspects. The Committee submits a bill which among other changes in the situation will bring about the establishment of an Office of Federal Administrative Procedure. The structure of this Office would include a Board composed of a justice of the United States Court of Appeal for the District of Columbia, the director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts, and a director of Federal Administrative Procedure. The last-mentioned would be appointed by the President of the United States with the advice and consent of the Senate. The qualifications and powers and duties of the director are set forth in the *Report*, but, in general, his major function would be to examine critically the procedures and practices of the agencies which "may bear strengthening or standardizing," to receive suggestions and criticisms, and to collect and collate information concerning administrative practice and procedure. Social workers will be more interested in the criticisms expressed with regard to the agencies which directly affect their clients.

It had been the hope of the chairman of the Committee that a unanimous report might result from the work of the Committee. This, however, proved not to be possible, and yet the letter of submittal is signed by the whole Committee as though there were a unanimous view expressed in the *Report*. Closer examination shows a divergence of opinion such as might be expected. "Additional Views and Recommendations" (p. 203) are presented in what is substantially a minority report signed by Mr. Vanderbilt, former president of the American Bar Association; Mr. Stason, of the Michigan Law School; and Mr. McFarland, who was formerly assistant to the attorney-general. They do not call it a minority report, but the reader is made aware of their spirit of dissent by the somewhat patronizing tone of the opening sentences: "Administrative agencies are staffed for the most part by intelligent, capable, hard-working, and competent men and

women. No careful student of administrative law would impair their efficiency!" The reader is certain that these words of superior judgment are to be followed by criticism, and these are directed later toward what are said to be "unnecessary defects, confusions, and uncertainties in existing procedures." Another minority report under the title, "Additional Views and Recommendations" (p. 248), was submitted by Chief Justice D. Lawrence Groner of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, a learned but highly conservative member of the bench. Although there is outward, apparent agreement, it is evident that the measure proposed is not wholly satisfactory to these dissenting members of the Committee, and it is difficult to believe that those who are concerned for the development of sound administrative law, described by the President in his veto message as highly desirable "poor man's law," will find the proposals in the bill promising such fulfilment.

S. P. B.

Problems and Procedures in Adoption. By MARY RUTH COLBY. (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 262.) Washington, D.C., 1941. Pp. 130. $0.15.

For some time social workers have waited for this publication. They have known that the Children's Bureau was assembling material on the subject of adoption, and they know that whatever the Bureau puts out will be accurate, fair, constructive, and based on sound principles of child care.

Adoption is one of the procedures which legislation has made available. It recognizes the common-law attitude toward the paternal right which under the doctrine of the common law could not restrict or limit its capacity to change its mind. Like apprenticeship, the adoption statutes make it possible for the parent so to bind himself that he cannot reverse himself, or, under certain circumstances, be permanently deprived of his parental rights, so that an appropriate agency may later make decisions with reference to the care and custody of the child.

The theory of adoption legislation is that it enables the father—the parent—to do permanently and in such a way as not to be disastrous to the child what he desires to do, and to transfer permanently to another his rights in the matter of custody and control of the child.

Universally, or with very few and temporary exceptions, the proceedings have been intrusted to the courts. It has been argued by some that, since the adoption takes place only when there is consent, there is no real issue, and therefore the proceeding could be an administrative one analogous to the marriage agreement, being later registered for purposes of permanent publicity. However, all the recent legislation is based upon the idea of a judicial procedure, and therefore social workers are concerned with the possibility of developing in the courts an attitude toward the social as well as toward the legal aspects of this transfer of custody which is so important in the child's life.

The present study was made by Miss Colby under the general direction of Miss Hanna of the Social Service Division of the Bureau. It contains information as to the procedures in a selected group of nine states and also of seventy-four courts outside of those states having jurisdiction in adoption which were visited. The selection of the states was based upon the provision in the state law giving to the department of public welfare responsibility for investigating petitions for adoption. This meant that adoption records were generally centralized in the state department and therefore attainable without too great difficulty.

It is not necessary here to review at length the contents of this publication which may be obtained so easily. The material covers the essential features of the procedure—the children who are adopted, the parents who give in adoption, the parents who take by the adoption procedure, the courts to which jurisdiction is assigned, the question of whether or not provision is made for antecedent investigation, and the extent to which the judges actually observe the terms of the statute, because it is now generally recognized that judges are on the whole an anarchical group who often determine for themselves whether or not they will obey the statutes enacted with reference to their administration.

The concluding chapter emphasizes the importance of the provisions authorizing a social investigation antecedent to the consummation of the adoption. It points out the advantages to the court and to the child of having available public or private agencies to make these investigations. It calls for a clarification of the relationship between authorized child-placing agencies and the state department with regard to adoptions sponsored by the agencies, and urges upon the department that greater attention should be given to the reports received from agencies with reference to adoptions being sponsored and that a plan should be developed for such reports as will give the department the information essential to a wise decision in a particular case.

As would be expected, the chapter on "Courts" is especially interesting and is characterized by a very fine selection of cases illustrating the weaknesses of the present practice. Certainly child welfare agencies having any relation to these procedures should take immediate advantage of such a valuable and constructive body of material.

S. P. B.

If She Were Yours—Could You Forget Her? A pamphlet published by the RURAL CHILD WELFARE UNIT, DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, January, 1941. Pp. 23.

The County Institution District Law of 1937 transferred responsibility for the care of dependent children in Pennsylvania from the local directors of the poor to the county commissioners and made the State Department of Welfare responsible for the establishment of rules and regulations for the guidance of the county commissioners in the performance of these duties. The Child Welfare

Services program, administered through the Rural Child Welfare Unit in the State Department, has been developed with particular reference to these new duties of the county commissioners in relation to children.

Written plans have been worked out jointly between the county commissioners of seventeen counties and the Rural Child Welfare Unit, according to which the child welfare workers are employed by, and work directly under, the county commissioners with the Unit giving supervisory services. The programs are financed jointly by the local, state, and federal agencies. The co-operation of local citizens has been encouraged and stimulated by the appointment of a state-wide Advisory Committee to consult with the Unit on policies and plans, and in each county a local advisory committee is appointed to discuss with the county commissioners and workers the needs of individual children and the development of local resources for child care.

What Child Welfare Services mean, how these services are rendered, and what they include are described in this pamphlet in a lucid, interesting style, which is reinforced by a variety of charming photographs. In contrast to the usual pictorial appeal to public interest for groups in need of care, these illustrations have been selected to show the accomplishments of Child Welfare Services, and these pictures of vigorous, happy, healthy children are very effective.

This is an excellent piece of community interpretation which gives to citizens precise information about the kind of care they can procure for their children and reminds them of the responsiveness of public officials to the expressed desires and opinions of private citizens. The report should appeal to the citizens of those twenty-nine counties in Pennsylvania where there are no agencies truly concerned about children and in all others where services are far from adequate.

MARTHA BRANSCOMBE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Care of Children Coming to the United States for Safety under the Attorney General's Order of July 13, 1940. (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 268.) Washington, D.C., 1941. Pp. 28. $0.10.

Scripture says, "A little child shall lead them," and there can be devised no more crucial test of true national quality than the treatment provided for the children of the warring nations whose lives have been broken into fragments and from whom all that security which is the essential of sound child development has been removed. This modest little publication should therefore be carefully examined by every child welfare worker.

Receiving the children who were forced to leave their native lands presented old and new questions to social workers; for those children, as for the American children, questions of hospitable reception, of skilled placement, of domestic adjustment, and of physical care were easily formulated, and it was therefore made possible for all who were concerned to receive and entertain these children to do so in the ways that were safe for the children and without prospective peril to our social or national life. Doing this called for co-operation on the part of the

Children's Bureau, of the State Department, and of private agencies, and this co-operation was swiftly developed through the generous and prompt activity of Marshall Field III and the equally prompt and skilled responsibility of the members of the staff of the Children's Bureau and the sympathetic co-operation of Secretary of State Hull.

The standards made available in this publication, therefore, call attention to the facts (1) that these children come to foster-parents in strange communities, (2) that there are problems of the individual child and of groups of children for whom care had to be provided, (3) that the responsibility for determining policies in special areas would have to rest with child-care agencies which should be designated on the basis of their recognized skill—these agencies would be agencies practiced in the use of foster-homes, (4) of course, these children arrive and are added to our child group not by birth but by immigration, and there are therefore the problems of hospitable reception and kindly care during the period of adjustment, and (5) that these children, like all children, are subject to physical and mental ills, which calls for antecedent provision of medical and psychiatric service. The standards for those services are therefore set up.

The pattern is one of old procedures and well-recognized standards applied in the case of great numbers of new arrivals of children presenting not the problems of infancy but of absence and separation and lack of security.

S. P. B.

Child Welfare Information Center: Annual Report on Child Welfare for Fourth Session of Advisory Committee on Social Questions. (League of Nations Publications Official No. C. 41. M. 37, 1940, IV.) New York: International Document Service, 1940. Pp. 186. $1.00.

Child Welfare Information Center: Summary of the Legislative and Administrative Series of Documents Published in 1939. (Official No. C. 12. M. 10, 1940, IV.) Pp. 77. $0.40.

The first of these documents is the fourth of the annual reports drawn up by the information center which formerly existed at Geneva under the League's Social Questions Committee. At the 1933 session of the Committee the plan was made to obtain each year information regarding child welfare progress in the various countries, both from the legislative and the administrative points of view.

Reports from twenty-seven countries and colonies are included in the *Report* listed above. The United States and Great Britain submit rather lengthy reports; that for the United States covers not only the work of the United States Children's Bureau but also Aid to Dependent Children, the work of the Office of Education, C.C.C., N.Y.A., and W.P.A., the latter being included especially because of the special housekeeping services, school lunches, and other special projects affecting children. There are interesting reports from Australia and New Zealand, and there is a good report from France with additional reports

from various French colonies. Reports from Germany and Russia do not appear, but the other countries which no longer exist and which have had all their social work destroyed by the war sent in excellent reports at the time that the last annual report was prepared. This is especially true of Belgium, Greece, and Bulgaria. Czechoslovakia had already disappeared from the picture.

The second document listed is a summary of legislative and administrative documents from the member countries. Brief summaries of laws or decrees from the different countries are arranged under such subject heads as adoption, assistance to children, family welfare, education, and vocational training. The reader examines these documents with regret that so much work with such promise for the future should have come to an end.

E. A.

Social Welfare, 1940: Annual Report for the Year 1940, State of New York, Board of Social Welfare. Albany, 1941. Pp. 39.

It is good to see a state welfare authority publish an annual report that is really made for the public to read. This document is short, concise, and readable. The student will not find statistical data, but the citizen will find a report of his public assistance services that he can read from start to finish without getting lost or bored. More official reports in this form are greatly needed. The long, detailed report should be issued too, as it is by the New York State Department.

The State Board of Social Welfare serves the State Department of Social Welfare. Its work has largely to do with public assistance, since the bulk of the institution job is under the two state departments of Correction and Mental Hygiene. In this report, however, the Board emphasizes the institutional part of its responsibility.

Among the matters of interest discussed in the report is that of public subsidies—a subject with which the "Empire State" has long had prominent connection. In 1939 lump sum subsidies alone totaling more than four-fifths of a million dollars were made by forty-eight municipalities to ninety-three private agencies.

During the year a study was made of the sixty-two remaining public homes (almshouses) maintained by counties and cities. "An increasing proportion of the 13,000 inmates of the public homes are chronically ill and infirm, and consequently in need of institutional care."

State aid for general relief, begun under the New York F.E.R.A, continues now under the Board and Department of Social Welfare. Home relief in 1940 showed a marked decline in case load and cost. The December cost was the lowest of any December since 1933, and the total cases aided the lowest since 1932.

FRANK Z. GLICK

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

Public Assistance in New York City: Annual Report of the Department of Welfare of New York City for the Fiscal Year, 1939–40. New York City. Pp. 63.

The public assistance job in New York City is of course a tremendous one. During the year covered by the report something under a million persons were assisted with a total cost in excess of $128,000,000. Here, in a brief report is presented a bird's-eye view of the volume and kind of work done and of the organization and procedure of the agency.

The work of each of the three bureaus of the Department—Public Assistance, Finance and Statistics, Personnel and Special Services—is presented separately. The activities reported are many and interesting—everything from in-service training to killing rats.

In a section entitled "Major Trends" there is reported a noticeable decline in the home relief load and an approach toward that "hard core" of some one-hundred fifty thousand dependent persons receiving this type of aid who can never be expected to work. In a closing section headed "Comments and Recommendations" the Department asks for federal grants-in-aid for general relief, extension of unemployment insurance, more adequate provision for clothing and medical care, and a halt in such alien discrimination as that enforced in W.P.A.

The *Report* is designed for wide reading. It accomplishes brevity, makes use of case examples, and avoids tiresome figures. But it could be more carefully prepared and more attractively presented.

FRANK Z. GLICK

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

Tennessee Department of Public Welfare, Second Annual Report. Nashville, 1940. Pp. 112. Mimeographed.

The contents of this *Report* are arranged in eight chapters with appropriate subheadings, following in general the format of the *First Annual Report.* An organizational chart gives a clear explanation of the lines of administrative responsibility and also shows co-operative relationships with other state and local agencies. Another interesting chart describes the procedures involved in granting public assistance.

It is frequently true that a centralized executive department writes its reports for the governor, which may account for the precedence given by this *Report* to the management, financial transactions, and economies effected during the year. The first chapter gives an account of the findings of an extensive study analyzing the administrative costs and procedures of the department. This study and other administrative studies conducted by the field service were for the purpose of effecting economies, yet there is little evidence in the *Report* that they have been related to the fundamental purposes of a broad public welfare program.

In spite of this and the absence of an evaluation of the adequacy of services rendered and the extent of unmet need in the state, the reviewer wonders whether the individuals whom this department serves are not deriving more constructive benefit from the program than this *Report* indicates. This possibility seems to be reinforced by the conclusion of the cost analysis that administrative costs and the size of the administrative staff in a public assistance program should not be determined on the basis of a fixed percentage of the total expenditures. This clear statement of principle might well have been followed by a more comprehensive explanation of the factors that should determine the size of the administrative staff. According to the *Report:*

> The staff should certainly be large enough to insure reasonably adequate investigation, and the number of cases to be investigated, the type of investigation to be made, and the training and experience of the staff members will all be factors which will affect the number of staff members necessary to do the job [p. 16].

Since the interpretation of administrative costs is one of the most difficult tasks of public welfare administrators and social case workers, it is unfortunate that full advantage has not been taken of this opportunity to re-emphasize the importance of continuing case-work services and the economy of small case loads and adequate staff.

Because of the widespread interest in the developments in new state departments it seems particularly important for reports of these organizations to include facts derived from scientific analyses of the results of administrative changes and to call attention to problems and needs for which adequate provisions have not been made. In this connection the reviewer calls attention to the fact that the only reference in this *Report* to persons who are in need but ineligible for public assistance under federally aided programs is the statement that "General Relief cases which did not appear eligible for Public Assistance were closed or transferred to local agencies on July 1 (1937)" (p. 3). There is no information as to the number of persons applying for W.P.A., how many of these were unassigned, or how they lived until assignments were made. Nor is the service aspect of the public assistance program mentioned.

The *Report* states that additional appropriations made it possible to increase the number of recipients of old age assistance by 90 per cent. Apparently it has not been possible to take advantage of this increase, as there were 7,946 pending applications and $146,163.55 available for this group but unexpended on June 30, 1940. Average grants amounted to $10.07, but there was no explanation of the decrease in average grants, which during the preceding year amounted to $13.21 (*1939 Report*, p. 39). There was also an increased appropriation for aid to the blind and an increase of 222 in the number of cases receiving assistance, but again the *Report* failed to point out that the average grant was decreased, amounting to $11.07 on June 30, 1940, as compared with $14.69 in the preceding year (*ibid.*, p. 41). This difference seems significant as the *Report* indicates no pending applications and an unexpended balance of $4,822.66, which was available for this group. Since the *Report* also shows an unexpended balance of

$86,352.64 available for administration, it seems probable that, in spite of what seemed to be practical administrative economies, there was insufficient staff to handle the new applications and to make the necessary reinvestigations.

It is noteworthy that in the Aid to Dependent Children program Tennessee has maintained its former policy of refusing to "spread relief thin," and, although there was an increase of 46.8 per cent in the number of children and families receiving assistance, the *Report* states that average grants were not decreased. The averages were not reported, but there were 2,719 pending applications at the end of the year and an unexpended balance of $89,473.87 appropriated for this purpose.

The Child Welfare Services' program has continued to gain local support as indicated by an increase in the number of counties making appropriations for this purpose from two in 1937 to twenty-seven in 1940. Particular attention is called in the *Report* to the value of this program to Negro children, for whom resources are so inadequate. As a result of the assistance given to schools in handling attendance, conduct, and community problems affecting children, "the Visiting Teacher Division of the Nashville Public Schools, initiated through the supplementation of the salary of the Director of Child Welfare Services, became an established part of the City School System with increased staff and budget in September 1939."

In spite of some limitations, this *Report* unquestionably shows that the Tennessee department will continue to progress as the period of reorganization passes and constructive growth begins.

M. B.

Annual Report Department of Institutions, Territory of Hawaii for the Year Ended June 30, 1940. Pp. 159.

This first annual report outlines the accomplishments resulting from the coordinated activities of the Hospital for the Mentally Ill, the Training Schools for Boys and for Girls, the Division of Parole and Home Placement for the two schools, the Prison and Camps, Bureau of Crime Statistics, and the Board of Paroles and Prisons, under the new Department of Institutions. The director's summary reflects an enthusiasm over the change in morale and the co-operation given. He shows that the economies effected by the transfer of commodities and the reciprocal assistance given one to another by patients and "inmates" allowed for many needed improvements, the purchase of equipment for better treatment, occupational therapy, etc, and also allowed for substantial increases in social service staffs. Each division's report emphasizes the beneficial results obtained from these enlarged staffs, such as in better home placement and fewer failures, and all stressed the need for further expansion. A frank statement of problems, lack of accomplishments, and future needs is included in each report, supported by adequate statistics which show the progress made, but which also direct the attention of the governor to the future problems and needs. The most interesting report is that given by the Prison Board, which has been using a uniform

statistical method which allows for critical evaluation of the results of parole. Their endeavor, as stated, is to overcome the existing distrust of parole. That Hawaii is far advanced in its methods is an opinion that has been expressed by Mr. August Vollmer, an authority in this field.

The *Report* is interesting as it shows real advance made under the guidance of one administrative officer by the various divisions which prior to July 1, 1939, were separate un-co-ordinated units. However the *Report* minimizes the problems inherited due to this earlier lack of co-ordination. The statistical tables are adequate except for the omission of any which would show the number of prisoners who are occupied daily, which is of vital importance in an overcrowded prison. Owing to a legislative error, the Home for the Feeble-minded was not placed under the new department, but it has now been included and will so appear in the next report.

LYDIA M. BLAKESLEE

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

Analyzing the Use of Staff Time in Public Assistance Agencies: A Handbook on Time-Study Methods. By JOEL GORDON and BYRON T. HIPPLE. (Social Security Board Bureau Report No. 10.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1941. Pp. vii+47. $0.10.

A report of this type evokes mixed emotions. On the one hand, there is admiration for the careful thought that underlies the effort and for the obvious desire to provide a helpful tool to harassed administrators. On the other hand, there is recognition of the hazards involved in attempting to arrive at such concepts as number of man-hours required to investigate an application for aid to dependent children, not to mention the dangers inherent in compressing the qualitative intangibles of case work into the rough mold of a time average.

At their worst, time studies reflect a desire to direct the social services in terms of the hard-bitten precepts of efficiency so common in mass-production industries. The principle of individualization is widely recognized in the field of social services. Where it is actually practiced, there would normally be so wide a range in the time consumed, for example, in a "case review" that the "average time" would necessarily be highly unrepresentative.

The plan proposed here attempts to avoid one major hazard by assigning the case-work services to a category called "special services." This presumably dehydrates the "application investigation" and the "review of a case under care" and makes them both susceptible to the kind of time measurement that might be used in evaluating clerks who check the extensions in the tax assessor's office. If we face facts frankly we must admit that much of the activity in the public assistance field is at present actually at about that level. But it should not remain there, and no administrative device will in the long run prove helpful that tends to keep it there. Case-work service is sorely needed in many of the "categorical" cases and should be provided on a selective basis wherever needed. When this policy prevails and personnel is employed who are equipped to give

the service needed, it will speedily become apparent that the case-work process is continuous and cannot be artificially lopped off as an "extra" that is readily separable from the presumably standardized process of determining eligibility.

Although genuinely skeptical both of the merits and of the practicability of relating administrative decisions to time studies as extensively as is suggested here, the reviewer acknowledges that this particular plan is more carefully worked out and more clearly explained than any he has seen elsewhere in social-work literature.

W. McM.

Pennsylvania Public Assistance Statistics: Summary, 1932–1940. Prepared by BUREAU OF RESEARCH AND STATISTICS, DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE. Harrisburg, 1941. Pp. 51+xxxvii.

This admirable report provides an excellent point of departure for studying problems of public assistance in Pennsylvania. The record begins with September, 1932, when the State Emergency Relief Board was established. In addition to bringing the statistical record of relief activities up to date, this document (1) examines some of the factors influencing the fluctuations in assistance rolls, such as cyclical changes in industrial employment, and (2) measures the extent to which the composition of assistance rolls undergoes change in the course of a year.

The latter problem is one of special interest—particularly in the field of general home relief. The popular belief that home relief is burdened with hordes of chronic indigents is certainly not borne out by the Pennsylvania figures. The data indicate that 87 per cent of the cases on home relief at the beginning of 1939 had left the assistance rolls some time before the end of 1940. Considerable numbers also reappeared on the rolls for two or more short periods during the course of a year, suggesting that seasonal workers, in particular, find it impossible at certain periods to survive the slack season without public assistance.

The section on medical assistance raises some interesting questions concerning public policy in this area. Under existing legislation any recipient of any of the four types of public assistance who falls ill may summon a doctor of his choice or may go to a hospital clinic, and the bills are sent for payment to the Department of Public Assistance. However, the Department makes a monthly allocation for this purpose on the basis of the number of persons receiving assistance in each county. Since the total of the approved bills usually exceeds the allocations, pro rata reductions are commonly made. Thus, in the first six months of 1940 the doctors received only 58 per cent of their approved bills. Pharmacists, however, are paid in full before the doctors are paid, on the theory that their bills represent charges for materials as well as service. It is interesting to note that out of every dollar paid under this program, twenty-five cents went to pharmacists and sixty-two cents to physicians.

One very interesting chart in this report (opposite p. 25) shows on one grid for the period 1932–40 (1) index numbers of industrial employment in the state and

(2) unemployables on relief. The two curves exhibit a very close inverse relationship. The method by which the number of employables on relief was estimated is unfortunately not given in detail, but it is clear that it was wise to make this comparison only after attempting to eliminate from the series the relief beneficiaries who are not normally a part of the active labor force of the state. The chart suggests a measurable lag in the relationship that should prove useful in future budgeting operations.

W. McM.

Public Welfare Laws of the State of Alabama: Annotated. Issued by the STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE. Reprinted from the Code of Alabama, 1940. Pp. 197.

This compilation of codified laws of Alabama relating to public welfare is limited to those functions delegated to the State Department of Public Welfare or directly related to them. In addition to those statutes creating the legal framework and defining the scope of authority of the State Department of Public Welfare and those for which it has administrative responsibility, this volume includes other state laws relating to the legal status and custody, protection, and care of children; the appointment of guardians *ad litem*, of minors and of "persons of unsound mind"; desertion and nonsupport; "paupers"; and certain sources of revenue.

This is the first time that such a compilation of annotated Alabama laws has been published. It provides administrative equipment which has long been needed, and its use is facilitated by a detailed topical index. It also makes available in usable form some of the finest and most modern of social legislation. In view of the progressive social thinking which directed the statutory arrangement of the revised Code, as demonstrated, for example, by placing the provisions for the state training, industrial, and reform schools for delinquents under Title 52, "Schools" (pp. 151–64), it seems that there must have been some misunderstanding about the Partlow State School for Mental Deficients, provisions for which have been included in Title 45, "Penal and Correctional Institutions" (pp. 139–45).

M. B.

The Hard of Hearing and the Deaf: A Digest of State Laws, with Supplementary Notes on Administrative Acts, Orders, and Policies. Compiled by the STATE LAW INDEX SECTION OF THE LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. (77th Cong., 1st sess., House Doc. 151.) Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1941. Pp. v+112. $0.15.

This valuable document presents for the first time a complete picture of the legal provisions for a handicapped group, about which comparatively little is heard and which rarely stirs popular interest. This study, as indicated by the

title, includes a digest of all the state laws affecting the hard of hearing and the deaf, with the exception of workmen's compensation provisions and provisions in minimum-wage laws permitting special licenses to the physically defective. In addition to those laws relating directly to this handicapped group, the study logically includes certain types of laws dealing with the physically handicapped in general and with vocational rehabilitation. In this connection, it is pointed out that while this special handicapped group is not specifically mentioned, "inclusion of a certain percentage of hearing disabilities in statistics on vocational rehabilitation suggests that rehabilitation of the hard of hearing and of the deaf is contemplated under State and Federal vocational rehabilitation laws" (p. v).

The digest of state laws is supplemented by excellent references to administrative rulings, orders, and policies affecting the hard of hearing and the deaf, appendixes containing a summary of the federal vocational rehabilitation laws and certain provisions of the Standard Welfare Organization Act proposed by the American Public Welfare Association, and finally a suggested state vocational rehabilitation act. Those laws in which the hard of hearing are distinguished from the deaf, either specifically or by implication, and those providing for hearing tests for school children, examinations, or reports on physical defects are especially marked.

The increasing number of requests received by the Legislative Reference Service from state legislative bodies during recent years indicated that the problem of the hard of hearing is being recognized as having important "economic as well as humanitarian, medical, and educational aspects." The purpose of this document, as stated, is "to lay the informational basis for intelligent consideration of all of these aspects."

M. B.

The Migratory Labor Problem in Delaware. By ARTHUR T. SUTHERLAND. (U.S. Women's Bureau Bull. 185.) Washington, D.C., 1941. Pp. 24. $0.10.

The findings of the Tolan Committee are substantiated by this recent brief report by the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor on the migratory labor problem in Delaware. Most reports made on migratory labor have been concerned with conditions in the Far West, in the Southwest, or in the "Dustbowl." Little has been written describing similar conditions on the Atlantic seaboard, where thousands of workers and their families follow the maturing crops from Florida to the North. Most of these migrants are Negroes, either hired to harvest seasonal crops or employed in the canning and packing plants and in the seasonal fishing and construction industries. "Low wages and long gaps between jobs" keep them at the barest subsistence level.

This report originated in a survey made by the Women's Bureau in September, 1940, of the labor camps operated by the Delaware canning firms. About 80 per cent of the migratory workers of Delaware are employed by these firms. The agents of the Women's Bureau interviewed canners and camp deputies as

well as individual workers. The report discusses the family composition of the cannery work force, the methods by which canners obtain workers, the mode of transportation to camp, the earnings and hours of work, and the living conditions within the camps.

The problems of the migratory worker have become of vital significance to social workers, especially to those in communities directly affected. Although this bulletin suggests no methods for eliminating the workers' distress, it indicates the scope and nature of the problem, which is a first step in planning ways to prevent or alleviate the difficulty.

MARY SYDNEY BRANCH

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Methods of Family Living Studies: Income, Expenditure, Consumption. ("I.L.O. Studies and Reports," Ser. N, No. 23.) By ROBERT MORSE WOODBURY. London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 1940. Pp. 144. $1.00. (Distributed in the United States by the International Labour Office, Washington, D.C.)

Studies of family living are not new. However, the large number of these made within the last three decades indicates the increasing interest in attempts to measure standards of living, levels of living, and costs of living. This report of the International Labour Office is intended to serve as a guide for use in planning future inquiries. Appended is a list of studies made within the last ten years in twenty-nine countries, limited to attempts to determine how families satisfy their material wants by discovering how much income they receive and what they consume.

Dr. Woodbury makes no attempt to draw up an ideal scheme of investigation, but attempts rather to survey and evaluate the actual methods which have been used. He discusses the purposes of family living studies, the problems of planning and conducting inquiries and of analyzing and appraising the results, and the uses to which the results may be put. A final chapter is devoted to special problems of surveys of food consumption.

This report will help not only those who plan to make family living studies but also those who make use of the results of such inquiries. Social workers, in order to serve their clients intelligently, need to know the facts about the "content of living" of their clients. Detailed pictures of the way families live make possible an appraisal of actual living conditions in terms of standards. Intelligent interpretation of family living studies requires some knowledge of methodology. A knowledge of some of the difficulties of such studies makes possible a better evaluation of them. Social workers will find in this report a clear and comprehensive presentation of the problems of methodology.

Unfortunately, students of family living have in general tended to increase the total body of material along traditional lines rather than to deal intelligently

with the material already collected or to proceed along new and more useful lines. Very little, for instance, has been done by way of comparison and synthesis of the material already collected in these studies. One reason for failure along this line lies in the lack of uniformity in definitions and methods of classification and analysis. This report makes no rules for such uniformity, yet by reviewing these studies of the last ten years it suggests the advantages of certain methods and procedures. At present it is not so important to undertake further family living studies as to look beneath the surface of completed studies to draw out what is significant and comparable and to use the results of such studies in formulating social programs and policies. But the fact remains that this report should serve to make future family living studies of greater practical use and value.

M. S. B.

Studies in War Economics. ("I.L.O. Studies and Reports," Ser. B, No. 33.) London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 1941. Pp. 199. $1.00. (Distributed in the United States by the International Labour Office, Washington, D.C.)

The Labour Situation in Great Britain: A Survey, May–October, 1940. ("I.L.O. Studies and Reports," Ser. B, No. 34.) London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 1941. Pp. 56. $0.25 (Distributed in the United States by the International Labour Office, Washington, D.C.)

Labor and National Defense: A Survey of the Special Labor Problems Arising from America's Defense Activities and a Program for Action. The Factual Findings. By LLOYD G. REYNOLDS. *The Program.* By the LABOR COMMITTEE. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, Inc., 1941. Pp. 130. $1.00.

Since the outbreak of the war the International Labour Office has devoted its attention to the economic and social problems of wartime. Economic conditions in wartime change so rapidly that a description of such conditions today might conceivably bear little resemblance to those of tomorrow. Yet in the little volume on *Studies in War Economics* the fundamentals of some of the most pressing problems of the period have been so dealt with that most of the conclusions are likely to be valid for the duration of the war.

This report covers six aspects of war economics—economic organization for total war, financing the war, relative wages, control of food prices, housing policy, and the effect of war on the relative importance of producing centers. The authors believe that the menace of total war as practiced by Nazi Germany can be met only by mobilizing all the resources that remain after the needs of personal health and efficiency have been met. They claim that with the necessary changes in productive activities a drastic reduction in consumer goods will

be inevitable. A reduction in consumer demand may be brought about by inflation, voluntary or compulsory lending, taxation, and rationing. Of these methods, a combination of taxation, compulsory lending, and rationing are advocated as the most efficient. The Keynes plan for war financing is carefully analyzed and some valid objections noted. As an alternative to other methods of war financing its advantages seem undeniable. By restricting the tendency toward inflation it would remove one of the main causes of distress, and if coupled with Mr. Keynes's proposals for family allowances and low prices for necessaries it would do much to safeguard the position of the workers. The applicability of the Keynes plan to other countries is briefly discussed.

During war, changes in demand for different types of labor are likely to cause marked changes in relative wage rates and earnings. In so far as these changes stimulate the necessary shift from peacetime to wartime production they are justified, but once the changes proceed beyond this point, causing friction and dissatisfaction, other means of organizing the supply and distribution of labor become necessary. Control of wage rates is needed for considerations of justice and because of the effects on productive efficiency if justice is not secured. Measures designed to limit movements in relative wages may vary widely depending on factors peculiar to each country, but if control is to be equitable it must be comprehensive, flexible, and part of a general plan of war finance and war production.

Not only wage control but price control may be necessary, owing to maldistribution of purchasing power, ignorance among buyers, and monopolistic exploitation of scarcities. However, the task of maintaining prices in appropriate relation to one another is very difficult. A discussion of some of the problems, limitations, and objectives of food price control is presented against a background of the experience of the last war.

The need for new dwellings in order to maintain decent housing standards is more urgent in wartime than in peacetime, yet the supply of houses necessary to satisfy the increasing need is not forthcoming. It is very important for governments to integrate building activity with the general plan of war economy in order to adjust to new and urgent requirements. The housing policy of both neutral and belligerent countries is examined from the point of view of meeting wartime needs as well as postwar social reorganization and reconstruction.

Finally, the effect of war on international trade, and through trade, on industry is analyzed. Special attention is called to the position of the textile industries in various countries.

To organize effectively for war and to insure some measure of social justice, greatly increased powers must be granted to governments. This is not undesirable so long as governments are widely representative and include leaders of the labor movement.

The focus of *Studies in War Economics* is the welfare of the workers. Two other recent reports concerned with the labor problems of a war economy in a

particular country are of interest. In its brief study of the *Labour Situation in Great Britain* the International Labour Office presents a picture of the rapidly changing events in Great Britain during the period from May through October, 1940. Against a background of the military events, the chief political and economic changes affecting the labor group are discussed. Methods of regulating the labor supply and of transferring and training workers are noted. Changes in unemployment, in money and real wages, in hours of work, in industrial welfare, and in trade-unionism are presented and interpreted. Other matters of peculiar importance to the workers' standards of living, such as the tax policy and the nutrition policy, are described. Social workers will find the account of the changes in the social services (education, public health, housing, workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance, old age and widow's pensions, and the enlargement of the functions of the Assistance Board) of particular interest. The labor situation in Great Britain today is somewhat different from that described, but the report is valuable nonetheless in enabling its readers to interpret this important period as well as subsequent developments.

The Twentieth Century Fund in *Labor and National Defense* has surveyed the labor problems arising from America's defense activities and presented a program of action based upon these findings. The factual findings throw light upon some of the most pertinent of our present labor problems. The research staff believes that the demand for labor in the defense program will exceed the number of available unemployed persons. Yet a scarcity of skilled labor, especially in the metal trades, will be accompanied by continuing unemployment even at the peak of armament production. As defense activity increases some restriction will be required on nondefense industries to insure an adequate labor supply. Also a large part of the increased demand for labor will have to be met by workers not previously in the labor market, such as women and unused agricultural workers, as well as by an increase in the hours of work. In this connection the authors emphasize the necessity of determining the number of working hours which will yield maximum output, with particular attention to the variations from industry to industry, occupation to occupation, and worker to worker.

Many agencies, private and public, are now training workers. Their activities are described, and the committee urges co-ordination of the various programs, as well as further development of the United States Employment Service for recruiting and transferring workers.

The committee warns against increases in costs of living and stresses the importance of planned action to preserve and adjust the production of consumer goods. If a shortage of consumer goods becomes inevitable, consumer demands must be restricted by taxes and savings.

The authors recommend the maintenance of standards for the protection of labor and the weakening of standards only if necessary and after consultation with management and workers. The co-operation of both managers and workers in the determination of labor policies is essential.

One of the most significant parts of this study is the discussion of methods of preventing labor disputes. The report points out that industrial peace is most often found in highly unionized industries with a long history of collective bargaining. The industries of greatest importance in meeting defense needs are but partially organized and have been organized only since 1933. Therefore, disputes may be expected, with strikes more likely to develop from questions of union recognition than from matters of wages and hours. The committee believes that it is vital to hold interruption of production to a minimum. This, they think, can best be brought about by full compliance by employers with the law protecting labor in its rights of self-organization and by open-minded acceptance of collective bargaining. Workers, on their part, should determine to settle controversies without strikes. Voluntary mediation, rather than legal compulsion, points the way to industrial peace.

Nazi Germany has been successful in crushing its labor movement. These three reports are unanimous in the opinion that to wage a successful war on Naziism, the position of workers should be strengthened, not weakened. Government can best encourage the solution of labor problems by promoting joint action of management and labor, by developing an efficient conciliation service, by maintaining labor standards, by distributing equitably the financial burdens of war, and by combating increases in costs of living.

MARY SYDNEY BRANCH

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

CONTRIBUTORS

MARIETTA STEVENSON is assistant director of the American Public Welfare Association and lecturer in public welfare in the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago.

ALICE MACDONALD is a research assistant on the staff of the American Public Welfare Association.

GLENN E. JACKSON is executive director, Bureau of Public Assistance, New York State Department of Social Welfare.

A. DELAFIELD SMITH is assistant general counsel of the Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

CHARLOTTE TOWLE is associate professor of psychiatric social work in the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago and author of the recently published volume *Social Case Records from Psychiatric Clinics.*

JEANETTE HANFORD is assistant general superintendent of the United Charities of Chicago and lecturer in case work in the School of Social Service Administration.

LEON H. RICHMAN is superintendent, Foster-Home Department, Jewish Children's Bureau of Chicago.

NORMAN D. HUMPHREY is on the faculty of Wayne University, Detroit.

MALCOLM B. STINSON is regional research consultant, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

SIR RONALD DAVISON of London, at present with the British Ministry of Food, is author of several well-known books on unemployment and unemployment insurance.

DR. MAXWELL GITELSON is head of the department of psychiatry of Michael Reese Hospital, Chicago.

MARJORIE M. HESELTINE is consultant in nutrition with the United States Children's Bureau.

HARRY M. CASSIDY, director of the Department of Social Welfare, University of California, Berkeley, was director of social welfare in British Columbia, 1934–39.

DONALD S. HOWARD is research assistant with the Russell Sage Foundation.

C. HERMAN PRITCHETT is assistant professor of political science at the University of Chicago.

RUTH E. DOUGLASS is medical-social consultant, Blind Relief Service, Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, Chicago.

DR. DAVID SLIGHT is professor of psychiatry, University of Chicago.

FRANK T. FLYNN is director of the Graduate Program in Social Work, University of Notre Dame.

MARY DUNWIDDIE is superintendent of the Country Home for Convalescent Crippled Children, University of Chicago.

DR. ELLEN C. POTTER is director of medicine of the New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies.

HARLEIGH B. TRECKER is associate professor in the Graduate School of Social Work, University of Southern California.

MIRIAM NOLL is with the Industrial Division of the United States Children's Bureau.

FRANK Z. GLICK is director of the School of Social Work, University of Nebraska, formerly assistant director of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission.

LYDIA M. BLAKESLEE was formerly with the Department of Social Security, Territory of Hawaii.

Other contributors are members of the staff of the School of Social Service Administration.